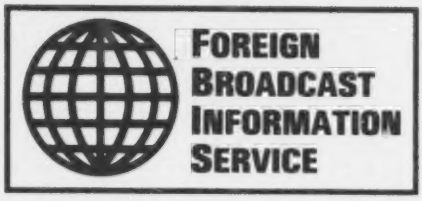


# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-130
Thursday
7 July 1988

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-88-130* *7 July 1988*

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## World Reaction to Iranian Airbus Downing Sampled

WA0707160088 [Editorial Report]

### NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

**Iran**—Iranian media were quick to react to the downing of Iran Air flight 655 over the Persian Gulf on 3 July. In its first commentary on the incident, Tehran Domestic Service described the "horrendous" American "crime" as a "new development" in U.S. attempts to "intimidate" Iran and "force it to compromise." The offical response from Tehran was also swift. A 3 July Foreign Ministry statement broadcast by Tehran radio urged international condemnation of the "anti-human U.S. action," which Foreign Minister Velayati, cited by IRNA, termed a "capital crime." For his part, Prime Minister Musavi, in remarks carried by IRNA, declared that America "would not stay immune from the consequences of 'this criminal act'." "Our response to the U.S. is long-term preparation until victory."

On 4 July, Tehran Domestic Service aired a letter from Velayati to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. In his note, the foreign minister asserted that the "aggressive attack" violated "all international rules and regulations, especially Clauses 1 and 2 of the 1944 Chicago Convention" on international civil aviation. He also asked for immediate UN condemnation and an on-site investigation. A subsequent Tehran radio commentary said the "criminal United States should know" that the "unlawfully shed blood" will be "avenged in the same blood-spattered sky over the Persian Gulf."

On the same day, in a message of condolence to Ayatollah Khomeyni, his designated successor, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, declared that it would be "befitting" for Khomeyni to "issue the necessary orders" to initiate "careful plans" for a "principled fight against the main enemy, the United States." He explained that the struggle should encompass the "political, economic, cultural and military fronts," adding that a "full-scale war against the United States cannot be fought with slogans and propaganda campaigns alone." "Cores of resistance inside and outside the country" should make "financial, political, economic, and military interests the targets of their struggle." In an announcer-read reply, Khomeyni asserted that "officials of the system must concentrate all their efforts toward the war," and "endeavor to create massive developments in all war-related issues," with "all going toward the fronts for an all-out war against the United States and its lackeys."

Among other Iranian reaction on 4 July, President Khamene'i, interviewed by Tehran radio, referred to the "mad rage and hatred" of the United States, which led to "violent and disgraceful terrorism," for which the U.S. Government "will have to suffer the consequences." In a similar vein, Foreign Minister Velayati, addressing diplomats in remarks reported by Tehran Domestic Service, stated that "the consequences" of the U.S. presence in the Gulf will be borne by America and "those countries that have invited or facilitated its presence."

On 5 July, in a speech to parliament, its speaker, Hojjat-ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, characterized the downing of the plane as "a disaster unprecedented in contemporary history," adding that "we will not allow ourselves to refrain from taking revenge, and the choice of time is up to us, not the United States." Prime Minister Musavi, in a message to the leaders of 24 countries summarized by IRNA, noted that the presence of the U.S. fleet had "seriously endangered the security of regional nations." He pointed out that "the Iranian Government considers the Reagan administration responsible for the crime," and appealed to world leaders to "react properly" so as to prevent similar incidents.

Observing military maneuvers, President Khamene'i, in statements transmitted by IRNA on 6 July, promised a "firm response" to the incident. Tehran radio cited Khamene'i as pledging "total engagement against this very harsh, disastrous, and savage American action." In an apparent reference to President Reagan's declaration that the United States considers the matter closed, Khamene'i said that not only was the case "not finished," but that "it is only the start of the affair." He then went on to highlight Iran's right "to give an appropriate response" to the "disaster."

In a later commentary, Tehran Domestic Service alleged that "it is now revealed" that the "USS Vincennes" had "previously endangered" lives "about a month ago" by tracking "civilian aircraft." By "putting all the blame" on the "Vincennes," the station explained, President Reagan was opposing the notion that it was the American presence in the Gulf that had "caused" such "painful incidents." On the same day, IRNA claimed that "firm evidence" existed "lending credence" to the theory that the downing was a "deliberate act" by the vessel, which was said to have a "dark record of U.S. state terrorism." The emphasis on premeditation continued when Prime Minister Musavi, in remarks reported by IRNA, spoke of "documented evidence of a joint plot" by the United States and Iraq regarding this "unmanly" act. While stating that the attack would not go unanswered, Musavi added that "proper reaction" by the world "would be effective in preventing" similar tragedies on the future.

Finally, in remarks carried by the Kuwaiti news agency KUNA but not monitored from Iranian media, Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Larijani "admitted" to the Austrian newspaper KURIER that the pilot of the Iranian airliner "did not pay attention to warnings by American warships," as he was "busy with many things in the cockpit." **Iraq**—Baghdad media coverage of the loss of Iran Air flight 655 has been limited. On 4 July, Baghdad INA transmitted a report citing Iranian opposition leader Mas'ud Rajavi as holding the Khomeyni regime responsible for the downing of the airliner due to its insistence on continuing the war. Two days later, in

another INA dispatch on a speech by President Saddam Husayn, the Iraqi president accused Khomeyni of reiterating his "evil intentions" against Arabs, Muslims, and human values "in his reply to Montazeri following the occurrence of the regrettable incident involving the Iranian passenger plane." Saddam Husayn concluded that Khomeyni's message was a reminder to the world of his "subversive course". **Syria**—An "official source" cited by Damascus radio on 4 July noted that Syria had learned of the loss of the Iran Air plane "with amazement, pain, and disgust." The same source characterized the incident as an "atrocious crime." Commentary by the official press has been equally strident. In its 5 July press review, the station quoted AL-THAWRAH, which claimed that the action was "premeditated," and that the United States is the "number one terrorist state in the world and the leader of this terrorism." On the same day, another Damascus paper, AL-BA'TH, alleged that the U.S.-NATO military presence in the Gulf would threaten the region with "devastating consequences" as long as the United States continued to "interfere in its affairs." **Egypt**—The first official response to the downing of the Iranian airliner was a statement on 4 July by Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Majid expressing his regret at the loss of the plane. MENA said he affirmed that the incident "manifests the dangers facing the peoples of the Gulf," and called for the international community to establish a just peace quickly. This was followed by a MENA piece on a statement by the Soviet ambassador in Cairo linking such incidents to the presence of U.S. and other Western military forces in the Gulf.

On the same day, a Cairo television commentator described the event as an example of the "tragic escalation" resulting from the "Israeli policy of prolonging the Gulf war." The commentator explained that American units "mistook the airliner for a military jet" and shot it down "by mistake." In a 5 July commentary, Cairo radio took a different line, claiming that similiar incidents will occur as long as the Gulf war continues, which, in turn, was blamed on the "behavior of Iranian rulers." In another commentary on 6 July, the station agreed that the incident showed the urgent need to end the war, "whatever the truth" about conflicting U.S. and Iranian claims over the cause of the downing. **Israel**—In statements reported by Jerusalem radio, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said "the United States should not be blamed for the downing of the Iranian airplane because the incident was caused by human error." Vice Prime Minister Peres, in comments broadcast by the radio, expressed sorrow over the incident, noting: "It was a very unfortunate event, probably a human error." Peres also voiced his belief that the downing would have no "direct repercussions for Israel."

All major Israeli papers carried editorials and comments on the incident in their 5 July editions. Among them, the independent paper HADASHOT blamed Iran for the accident, asserting: "Anybody condemning the Americans had better ask himself why the Iranian airliner ventured into the battle zone, why the aircraft's captain refused to identify himself, and why the plane was flying so low." THE JERUSALEM POST expressed concern that Tehran would "use the airline tragedy to trigger new desperate acts of international violence," highlighting its own certainty that the U.S. Government will want to offer material compensation to the victims' families, even if it is firmly established that "local U.S. commanders had sufficient reason to suspect a hostile military aircraft." **Saudi Arabia**—On 4 July, at the end of a regularly scheduled newscast, Riyadh Domestic Service carried a brief item on Iranian rescue attempts after the loss of the Iran Air plane. This was followed several hours later by a report on King Fahd's call for greater "vigilance and alertness" against "any sudden incident." For its part, the news agency SPA cited the Kingdom's expression of "regret" over the episode. While offering condolences to the families of the victims, Saudi Arabia was said to be looking forward to a "swift end" to the conflicts in the region in order to avert "more dangers and calamities in the Gulf area."

The Manama news agency WAKH on 5 July noted the following comment, which appeared in an editorial published on the same day in the Medina Arabic-language newspaper AL-MADINAH: "The current tension in the Gulf and the dangers threatening the region were imposed by the Iranian regime's policy of piracy toward merchant ships belonging to neutral, nonbelligerent states." The paper added that such "negative developments would not have occurred had the Iranian rulers accepted the peace advocated by Iraq and supported by all peace-loving countries." **Kuwait**—Quoting a "responsible source" at the Foreign Ministry on 4 July, Kuwait radio noted the government's "extreme regret and sorrow" at the downing of the Iranian airliner. According to KUNA, the ministry believed the "tragic incident" was the result of the "continuing tense situation in this region."

In a 6 July KUNA summary of press comment, heightened tension was again seen as the "real cause" of the incident, which threatened "more and bigger tragedies." However, the KUWAIT TIMES warned the United States that it has done "precious little to show it shares the distress" of the bereaved. AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, normally known for its anti-American views, advised Iran against retaliation, as that would "breed a spiral of reprisals" claiming additional civilian lives. An earlier KUNA press review on 5 July cited AL-SIYASAH as holding Iran "partly responsible" for the incident due to its "constant refusal to abide by peace calls." The KUWAIT TIMES was said to have urged Tehran to "seize the occasion and accept peace." **Libya**—After several factual reports on 3 July citing Iranian sources, the official news agency JANA noted the American admission of responsibility for the "horrible crime" and "ugly massacre," which were described as the latest case of American "state terrorism." A commentator for the news agency appealed for "firm and responsible" international pressure on the United States to "withdraw its fleets and its military bases wherever they may be." A

Foreign Liaison Bureau statement transmitted by JANA on 4 July repeated the call for the withdrawal of "all foreign fleets" from the Gulf. In a second declaration from the Foreign Liaison Bureau cited by JANA, addressed to the diplomatic corps on 5 July, "all states" were asked to "work for the withdrawal of American fleets from the Mediterranean and the Arab Gulf." **Lebanon**—Initial Lebanese reaction to the incident was dominated on 5 July by reports from various radios that the Islamic Jihad organization had decided to execute an American hostage to avenge the loss of Iranian lives. The French news agency AFP added that analysts did not take the threat seriously, as it was not accompanied by photographs of any captives. The agency also cited Shi'ite religious leader Shaykh Fadlallah as saying the episode did not justify the taking of additional Western hostages.

The only monitored reaction from official Lebanese sources came from acting Prime Minister Salim al-Huss, who, according to Beirut radio, felt "the enormity of the tragedy" was greater because the plane had been downed by U.S. forces. Other prominent figures took a harsher line. Quoted by the same radio, Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, deputy chairman of the Higher Islamic Shi'ite Council, termed the event a "criminal massacre," while the leader of the Amal movement, Minister Nabih Birri, sent a cable to Ayatollah Khomeyni referring to the attack as "a human scandal by U.S. hands." The Political Bureau of the leftist Druze PSP denounced the incident as a reflection of "U.S. contempt for human values," according to the clandestine Voice of the Mountain radio. **Jordan**—No official statements on the Iran Air incident have been monitored from Jordanian media. However, in its reporting on the affair, Amman Domestic Service has tended to emphasize the "inadvertent" nature of the event, which occurred while the "USS Vincennes" was in a "defensive position." On 4 July, the radio claimed that the international community saw the attack as confirmation of the "urgent need to end the Iraq-Iran conflict and achieve peace in the region so that such a tragic incident will not recur." While coverage by the Amman Arabic-language press has been virtually devoid of comment, in a 4 July article in AL-RA'Y, columnist Masarwah drew a parallel with the South Korean plane brought down by the Soviets, pointing out that Jordan condemned that attack in the UN Security Council. In contrast, a 5 July editorial in the English-language daily JORDAN TIMES said: "The U.S. must accept the major part of the blame for the accident and must recognize that military prowess is not the answer to all political or human dilemmas." **Bahrain**—In a declaration summarized by Manama WAKH on 4 July, a Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed Bahrain's "regret and sorrow" to the families of those lost aboard Iran Air flight 655. The government, he added, sees the incident as a "clear example of the tension and threat to regional security and stability resulting from the Iraq-Iran war." The spokesman concluded by voicing Bahrain's wish for a speedy end to the Gulf conflict.

Among the press comment, WAKH cites an editorial in the 4 July edition of the Manama daily AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ. According to WAKH, the paper attributed the incident to Iran's insistence on continuing the war, and praised the "moral courage" of the United States in admitting its own mistake. That admission, the paper wrote, has "contributed to containing the effects of the incident and settling its consequences." **UAE**—On 4 July, a Foreign Ministry official, in a statement noted by Manama WAKH, expressed "deep sorrow and grief" at the recent U.S. naval action in the Gulf. The UAE, he declared, felt the "tragic incident" was a result of the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war. The spokesman also reaffirmed the UAE's call for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 on the conflict.

In a 5 July editorial reported by Manama WAKH, the leftist paper Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ accused the United States of "turning the region into an explosive furnace as a result of its policies of aggression." The United States sees the Middle East as an "exclusive American lake where no one can swim, not even the peoples of the area themselves." **India**—The Indian Government has "deplored" the downing of an Iranian civilian aircraft. In a statement by a spokesman for the External Affairs Ministry, reported by Delhi radio on 4 July, the use of military force against a "clearly civilian target" was "unjustified." The spokesman called on the U.S. Administration to "thoroughly investigate the circumstances" of the action and "identify those responsible for it." The radio also said that Prime Minister Gandhi had conveyed "heartfelt sympathies" in a message to his Iranian counterpart over "the act of violence perpetrated" on 3 July. **Pakistan**—In a message to his Iranian counterpart, cited by Islamabad Domestic Service on 4 July, President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said "the tragedy" represented by the loss of the Iranian plane "appalled and grieved" him "beyond any measure." The president described the circumstances surrounding the incident, in which four Pakistanis died, as "highly regrettable and reprehensible." He appealed to the United States to initiate an inquiry and punish those responsible for this "unpardonable deed." **Bangladesh**—A Foreign Ministry spokesman, quoted by Dhaka radio on 5 July, expressed "deep shock" at the downing of the Iranian Airbus. He said his government "deplored the loss of many valuable lives," and emphasized Bangladesh's "deep anxiety at the tension" in the region. **Afghanistan**—In the sole monitored Afghan reaction to the downing of Iran Air flight 655, the English-language service of the official news agency BAKHTAR transmitted a "statement" on 6 July asserting that the United States "provides all-sided grounds for the international terrorism." The statement recommended the withdrawal of U.S. forces and those of other nations not bordering the Gulf.

## SOVIET UNION

The Airbus incident was first reported at 1100 GMT on 3 July by Moscow's English-language broadcast service, citing IRNA. A similar item was carried by TASS English

at 1149 GMT, picked up by Moscow in Russian at 1300 GMT, and then by Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic at 1330 GMT. U.S. claims to have downed an F-14 were mentioned in hourly broadcasts beginning with the 1500 GMT Moscow World Service in English. Moscow television's "Vremya" newscast repeated the IRNA reports, adding related clips of Dubayy television film. Moscow in English at 2000 GMT noted President Reagan's admission of U.S. responsibility, which it said "avoids the capital issue": how the mistake could have been made. TASS English at 2033 GMT on 3 July cited Admiral Crowe as having admitted the plane had been shot down and having said that the United States "deeply regrets" the incident. The TASS report noted State Department alerts to most embassies regarding "special" security measures. President Reagan's statement on the incident wass the lead item on the World Service in English 2100 GMT 3 July broadcast and the Spanish broadcast.

TASS in English at 0615 GMT on 4 July cited comments by U.S. Democratic Party presidential candidates Dukakis and Jackson, expressing "deep regret" over the downing. A report on the Iranian recovery of bodies was the second item on the Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 4 July broadcast, including a brief mention of Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati's statement placing "full responsibility" on the United States. A commentary carried on the broadcast, the first monitored since the incident occurred, questioned whether the downing was accidental. It asserted that U.S. commanders in the Gulf "have apparently been losing control of their actions more and more," and asked whether the incident will lead Reagan to realize that U.S. ships "should be withdrawn from the Gulf." TASS English at 1023 GMT on 4 July reported that First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov received the Iranian ambassador to discuss the downing.

A TASS Russian commentary at 1010 GMT on the same day reported "feverish" attempts in Washington to "justify" the downing as "defense from possible attack." Aleksandr Pogodin, in a Moscow World Service commentary carried at 1110 GMT on 4 July, described U.S. accounts of the "tragic event" as ranging from "outright lies to cynical self-justification." "I am deeply convinced," the commentator said, that the act "was deliberate mass murder in cold blood" and that it is "futile" for the attack to be compared to "the termination" of the Korean Airline flight over the USSR, which had been flying over Soviet territory for a long time "despite warnings." This commentary was repeated in nine subsequent broadcasts in six languages.

Iran's protest to the United Nations was reported by the World Service at 1300 GMT on 4 July. At 1326 GMT, TASS English carried the Supreme Soviet Presidium's message to the Iranian president offering "profound and sincere condolences upon the tragic death of the passengers and crew of an Iranian airliner shot down by a missile from a U.S. naval ship." This was the first monitored high-level official Soviet statement on the incident, and it was widely relayed by both European and Asian radio beams.

A "TASS statement" carried by TASS English at 1347 GMT on 4 July declared that the downing was "far from accidental" and reinforces the need for the U.S. Navy to "leave the Persian Gulf without delay." The TASS statement was also widely reported on various Moscow radio beams.

Moscow in Arabic at 1400 GMT that day carried the Iranian protest to the United Nations as its lead item, but only the first two items concerned the incident. Radio Peace and Progress in English to Asia gave the incident sixth place in a 10-item broadcast at 1400 GMT. The Supreme Soviet condolences were picked up by various Moscow broadcasts as their lead or second item, but treatment of the issue was generally brief. The TASS statement was also picked up as the lead item for English and French broadcasts. Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov was reported by TASS Russian at 1730 GMT as pointing out that the Airbus was shot down "in broad daylight in excellent visibility," unlike the Korean airliner in 1983. Also on 4 July, Moscow broadcasts in Indonesian, Hindi, Cambodian, Tamil, Lao, and Vietnamese carried two commentaries on the downing of the Iran Air jet. In one, Aleksandr Pogodin described the downing as "murder" and rejected President Reagan's "excuses." He declared that, contrary to President Reagan's claims, this action proves that the United States really does not want peace in the Gulf. In the second commentary, Stanislav Vasilyev said that the downing was not accidental, as it was a direct consequence of the U.S. naval presence in the Gulf. He called for the withdrawal of foreign navies from the region and for UN supervision of international shipping lanes.

In addition to numerous TASS items, Moscow Television Service carried three commentaries on the incident. The first, by Igor Goranskiy in the "World Today" program on 4 July, noted that the tragedy has caused a "wave of indignation throughout the world" and said that "it is difficult to believe that a huge passenger plane was mistaken for a small fighter." The second, by Aleksandr Serikov in the "Novosti" 2200 GMT newscast, pointed out that this action could lead to Iranian retaliation and noted that many countries have called for the implementation of measures to prevent an armed conflict in the Gulf.

Initial Soviet press reaction to the 3 July downing of the Iran Air Airbus fell into two basic categories: the charge that the United States had perpetrated a "monstrous crime" and "terrorist act" (PRAVDA), and had resorted to "irresponsible, criminal actions" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA) and a "barbarous action" (TRUD); and consideration of the political and technical implications of the incident for both the Gulf region and the entire world in terms of the potential for escalation to a large-scale crisis.

On 5 July, PRAVDA's Second Edition devoted half of page 5 to reports and commentaries on the 3 July aircraft downing. Under a prominent headline—"Missiles Against Passengers!"—the paper prefaced its feature with a group of subordinate captions published in boldface characterizing the incident as, inter alia, a "Terrorist Act by the U.S. Navy," a "Monstrous Crime in the Persian Gulf," and a "Barbarous Action by the United States."

A TASS report from Nicosia published in 5 July's PRAVDA cited the initial reactions of Iranian Prime Minister Musavi and Foreign Minister Velayati and Tehran radio, and was followed by a 4 July Washington dispatch from the paper's own correspondent, Vitaliy Gan, who began by saying that "cold-blooded murder has been perpetrated in the sky over the Persian Gulf." Gan then focused on the "propaganda" operation begun by "official Washington" to find versions of the incident that could be presented to the public. He cited the reference in a news conference held by Admiral W. Crowe, chief of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, to "extenuating circumstances," and added that Crowe accused Iran "virtually of a deliberate provocation." Summarizing the explanations given and citing the technical sophistication of the "USS Vincennes," the correspondent wrote that, in the light of the facts that accumulated throughout the day, "even to a nonspecialist these arguments sound naive at best." He viewed the White House response, with President Reagan both expressing "deep regret over the 'terrible human tragedy'" and labeling the incident "an appropriate defensive act," as an attempt "to smooth out the obvious 'discrepancies' in the explanations."

In an accompanying commentary, PRAVDA observer Tomas Kolesnichenko stated that "a crime has been committed" and declared that the U.S. missiles "also blew apart the provisions of international law, commonsense, and the principles of nonuse of force and noninterference in other peoples' affairs." Kolesnichenko noted that when Admiral Crowe was asked at a news conference about the "the difference between the present incident and the incident involving the Korean aircraft" he "resorted to sheer distortion of the facts" and "turned everything upside down." The PRAVDA observer went on to state that it would be "absurd" to accept the U.S. President's claim that the United States is only interested in peace in the Gulf. "Peace will not be achieved by such methods," he wrote. Attempts to justify what took place, he said, "show what a danger is posed to mankind by American forces in areas remote from the United States." The incident was "preprogrammed," he claimed, inasmuch as the Gulf's militarization and the U.S. and allied naval concentration there represent a "loaded gun" with "the hammer inexorably cocked." Another "far-reaching" question in Kolesnichenko's view is that of the implications of the apparent failure of U.S. technology: "If the latest electronic equipment failed to distinguish a cumbersome, slow-moving Airbus from a supersonic fighter, what guarantee is there," he asked, "that in the future the much-vaunted SDI supercomputers will not make the same mistake, with unpredictable consequences? It is clearly also time that America matched the frontiers of its Armed Forces to its own territory."

In a 5 July KRASNAYA ZVEZDA article, V. Pustov also cited Soviet warnings of the "most dangerous consequences" that could ensue from the ongoing increase in the U.S. and allied presence in the Gulf. After observing how "very belated" were the "'profound regrets'" voiced in Washington, Pustov added that the "terrible tragedy" "can in no way be regarded as purely accidental." Noting that the Soviet Union put forward a "constructive initiative" to tackle the "difficult situation" in the region, Pustov said that Washington and other NATO capitals failed to come up with a positive response. He declared that, despite the tragedy, the U.S.Administration plans no changes in a Persian Gulf policy initiated by former U.S. Secretary of the Navy Lehman, which, in the words of THE WASHINGTON POST, has increased to an exceptional degree not only the possibility of serious clashes in international waters but the danger that such clashes could escalate and develop into a nuclear conflict.

TRUD on 5 July carried a "specialist's opinion" by Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Bordunov, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, who disputed the U.S.claim of a "technical error." After dicussing the ways in which civil or military aircraft are identified, he declared that "the Americans knew what they were dealing with." He accused the United States of violating the 1984 amendment to Article 3 of the Chicago convention, to the effect that "every state must refrain from using weapons against civil aircraft in flight," and concluded that the "gross violation of this important principle of international air law...gives grounds for qualifying the U.S. behavior as unlawful, with all ensuing consequences." The trade unions' central governing body, the AUCCTU, issued a statement, carried in the same issue of TRUD, which declaring that "there can be no justification for this barbarous action." The statement demanded an end to the "provocative maneuvers" by U.S. Armed Forces in the Gulf, which "threaten a grave exacerbation of the military-political situation in this region and throughout the world."

The issue of foreign reaction to the incident was raised in 5 July's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which claimed that "some British mass media (and primarily BBC television) are responding...in a highly peculiar fashion" designed "to justify the actions of their main allies, the Americans." Prime Minister Thatcher's expression of "profound regret" over the loss of life is juxtaposed with her "full support" for the Americans' actions, which she described as "self-defense," the paper added.

In the "Review of World Developments" on the World Service in English at 0310 GMT on 5 July, commentator Yuriy Reshetnikov asserted that "for practical purposes" the United States "is currently in a state of war with Iran," "whether it wishes or not." The "longstanding" Soviet proposal to install an international force to protect Gulf shipping "is not likely to be accepted any time soon," he continued. He concluded, citing a Western analyst, that the United States should reduce the size of its Gulf force.

Commentator Pogodin, also speaking on the World in Service English at 1110 GMT, reported "clear indications the United States does not intend to assess the tragedy in realistic terms and draw the necessary conclusions," even though "a crime has been committed, a deliberate crime."

A Moscow radio Russian-language commentary at 1500 GMT on 5 July made the point that the "much-praised U.S. military technolgy is far from perfect...if it is incapable of distinguishing a regular airbus from a combat aircraft."

Iran's request for an emergency Security Council meeting on the incident was reported by Moscow English at 1900 GMT on 5 July. TASS English at 1931 GMT reported without comment President Reagan's statement that in downing the airbus the United States had acted upon its "inherent right to self-defense" and his assertion that he considered the incident "closed."

On 5 July, in the only signed commentary observed on Moscow radio's broadcasts in Portuguese to Brazil, Aleksandr Pogodin told Brazilian listeners: "I am sure it was a crime, a programmed crime." Pogodin added: "I want to say this crime is a direct consequence of the policy Washington is pursuing in the Persian Gulf: a policy of force and of the increase of tensions." No signed commentaries were observed on Moscow radio's broadcasts in Spanish to Chile, but an anonymous commentary on 5 July said that "the entire world" reacted with "indignation and condemnation of the policy" that made the incident possible, calling it "a direct consequence of U.S. military actions during the last year to reinforce its presence in the Persian Gulf."

Moscow broadcasts in Indonesian, Hindi, Cambodian, Tamil, Lao, and Vietnamese carried repeats of the previous day's Aleksandr Pogodin commentary on 5 July, as well as a TASS statement reiterating the theme that the downing was the direct result of the U.S. naval presence in the Gulf.

A television commentary by Igor Fesunenko in the "World Today" program on 5 July noted that "statements of disgust and condemnation of the United States" are streaming in from all continents and that "stormy protest demonstrations," regarding not only this "criminal action" but the U.S. military presence in the Gulf, are being staged before many U.S. embassies.

Treatment of the downing in all monitored broadcasts on 5 July was brief, and in most cases it was not the lead item. "Vremya" television newscasts tended to carry these items well down in their presentations.

IZVESTIYA on 6 July publishes a commentary attributed to V. Ivanov, who described the airbus downing as a "natural consequence" of U.S. policy. The past year has shown, he said, that the "massive U.S. presence and the use of force are not conducive to safe navigation." The purpose of the U.S. presence is "to demonstrate U.S. might and keep the Persian Gulf within the Western sphere of influence." In the author's opinion, the incident is evidence of the "tremendous threat inherent in regional conflicts," with the possibility that "any incident" could trigger a crisis. An IZVESTIYA press service item, carried on the same page, reported the continuing search for bodies, provided extracts from the statement made by Captain Will Rogers, and noted the dispatch of a special investigation group to the Gulf region. U.S. analysts were cited as predicting serious complications in the regional situation but no change in administration policy. IZVESTIYA reported Bush and Dukakis as having "on the whole supported the administration's explanation and position on this question," with the former "fully" justifying the captain's actions and the latter urging Iran "to cease its threats against the United States and its Western allies." The V. Ivanov commentary also cited Jesse Jackson's assertion that the downing of the airliner resulted not from equipment or computer failure but from "the failure of administration policy."

TASS English on 6 July carried a dispatch by correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko noting that President Reagan had made "his third statement" in 2 days on the downing, this one in the form of a message to the speaker of the House and the president pro tempore of the Senate. The dispatch characterized the message as "an attempt to justify" the commander's actions. The same report suggested that a 5 July news conference held by a Pentagon spokesman "was also aimed at attempting to justify" the Navy's actions, but failed to explain how its "most sophisticated equipment" could not distinguish an airliner from a fighter. This report, too, cited U.S. presidential aspirant Jesse Jackson's comment that the incident involved "a political blunder" rather than a "technical" one.

TASS English reported on 6 July that Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, had visited the Iranian Embassy in Moscow to sign the condolence book. TASS English later reported that a memorial ceremony over the "tragic event" was held at the embassy and was attended by diplomats in Moscow.

In comments also carried by TASS English, an Aeroflot instructor pilot questioned how the incident could have occurred, given that the cruiser was "studded with electronic equipment." The pilot added that circumstances notwithstanding, the downing was a "sequel" to

the "unprecedented build-up" of U.S. military might in the Gulf. He added that "commonsense" dictates that tension in the Gulf can be eased only by reducing the military presence there.

Commentator Aleksandr Pogodin, in remarks carried by Moscow World Service in English on the same day, said that President Reagan's declaration that the United States considers the matter closed is a view "not shared by the rest of the world." Pogodin said that "official" Washington's "obvious desire" to close the case "varies sharply" from the demands of other countries. Concluding, Pogodin stated that "Washington's efforts to compel the interntional community to reconcile itself to the crime are futile."

Drawing a parallel between the Iranian Airbus downing and the crash of a civilian aircraft in Nicaragua, Moscow World Service correspondent Mayorov concluded that "wherever Washington builds up tension and tries to solve problems by military means, unprotected civilians, above all women and children, suffer."

Moscow broadcasts to Latin America and Cuba reported the TASS statement on the incident on 6 July. Commentaries were also carried by these radios, as well as by Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish, that criticized U.S. policy in the Gulf. A representative commentary on Moscow's beam to Cuba said that U.S. servicemen in the Gulf are "victims of a warmongering psychosis" and cannot distinguish between military planes and "huge" civilian aircraft. The commentary called on the U.S. administration to withdraw U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf.

Moscow International Service in Vietnamese carried an unattributed commentary on 6 July in which the commentator stated that he is "firmly convinced that this is a crime and, more precisely, a premeditated crime." As evidence, he declared "that with their tremendous electronic capabilities there is no way that U.S. vessels can mistake one type of aircraft for another." Finally, echoing earlier commentaries, he said that "the crime is a direct consequence of the policy of force and creation of tension that Washington exercises in the Persian Gulf area."

## EAST EUROPE

**Bulgaria**—State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov met in Sofia on 5 July with the American UN representative, Vernon Walters, Sofia radio reported. During the meeting, Mladenov "expressed the Bulgarian Government's concern over the tragic incident and confirmed Bulgaria's position in favor of withdrawing the military ships of all countries from the Persian Gulf region." Official reaction continued on 5 July with a 190-word "declaration" from the official news agency BTA. The declaration stated that the "responsibility for this tragic incident falls entirely on the American side," and expressed the Bulgarian people's "sympathy" for the victims.

Press comment included a short article by Georgi Nikolov in the 5 July edition of RABOTNICHESKO DELO entitled "'Tragic Mistake' or Crime," which asserted that the "roots of the human tragedy lie in the presence of the United States in the Persian Gulf." **Czechoslovakia**—The Foreign Ministry "resolutely condemned" the American attack on Iran Air flight 655 as "absolutely unjustifiable," and at variance with Point 5 of the July 1987 UN Resolution on the Iran-Iraq war, CTK reported. A 4 July commentary on Bratislava radio said the "terrorist" attack in the Gulf had "nothing in common" with the downing of KAL flight 007 by the USSR in defense of its airspace. On 5 July, the Communist Party paper RUDE PRAVO published a 550-word commentary entitled: "Lesson Taught By Tragedy." The paper explains that the lesson lies in an American military pullout from the Persian Gulf, and an end to the Iraq-Iran war, which would deprive the United States of an excuse to "meddle." **GDR**—In a statement transmitted by the official news agency ADN on 4 July, the Foreign Ministry described the incident in the Persian Gulf as a "flagrant breach of international law," proving the urgent need to "end this interference" in the region. On the same day, ADN carried a telegram of sympathy from State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to the Iranian president, noting the GDR's "consternation" and "deepest sympathy." On 5 July, the party paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND claimed that the 290 passengers on the plane "had to die because the United States is...acting as a global policeman in the Gulf." **Poland**—A declaration from the Foreign Ministry on 5 July summarized by Warsaw PAP offered the downing of the Iranian Airbus as "confirmation" of Poland's frequently expressed concern over prolongation of the Iran-Iraq war and the presence of U.S. and NATO ships in the Gulf. According to the same agency, the Warsaw daily TRYBUNA LUDU, official organ of the ruling party, said the United States "could do much more" to end the war "using diplomatic channels." The Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI claimed that "the undeclared war escaped the control of those who unleashed it." **Romania**—Bucharest radio initiated Romanian coverage of the Airbus incident on 5 July with a 120-word "statement" expressing "deep regret at the very serious action that killed the 290 persons aboard." The official news agency AGERPRES carried a 370-word item on the same day, strongly condemning the episode under the heading: "In Connection With U.S. Naval Forces' Downing of Iranian Passenger Plane—An End Should Be Put to the Aggressive Actions in the Gulf; Fearless Flight of Civil Aircraft Should Be Ensured." In its 5 July "Romanian press review," the agency mentioned a telegram of condolences from President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Iranian president, adding: "The papers stress that public opinion in Romania demands that an end be put to the aggressive action in the Gulf and that the safety of

civil aircraft flight there be secured." **Yugoslavia**—Following a 3 July Belgrade radio report on the death of six Yugoslavs aboard Iran Air flight 655, the station aired a commentary by Milika Sundic, who stated that "the action by the crew of the U.S. cruiser cannot be justified in any way, because it is clear even to a layman that this was a major blunder and irresponsible behavior." A 4 July commentary from Zagreb predicted that "major consequences" would result from the affair, and that the American campaign against the USSR following the downing of KAL 007 "will now rebound on them." "The least" the United States can do, according to the commentary, "is apologize and pay compensation to the families." In a domestic news bulletin from TANJUG on 5 July, a spokesman for the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat was quoted as expressing "regret" at the incident, accompanied by "great sorrow and anger." The statement also appealed for "urgent international action" to end the war "on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598."

In its 5 July edition, BORBA published factual reportage on the clash, citing IRNA, REUTER, and world reaction, including the response from Britain, France, and Italy. The paper's New York correspondent, Bogdan Decermic, reviewed statements by President Reagan, Admiral Crowe, and the State Department. In addition, the paper included a commentary by Slobodan Pavlovic, who declared that "the insane conflict in the Gulf has taken new, innocent lives," and that the incident "is a warning and appeal to those who started the war, those who do not want to end it, and those who think they are invited to regulate it and decide on it."

## WEST EUROPE

**Italy**—Italian coverage of the incident focused primarily on the Italian frigate "Espero," dispatched to assist in recovering bodies from the downed aircraft. In the first monitored report at 1700 GMT on 3 July, Rome radio noted that there was "great concern" in Italy over the situation. The Italian prime minister expressed "profound condolences" in a report broadcast at 2200 GMT on the same day, while a 1555 GMT radio report on 4 July indicated that the Iranian aircraft had been at an abnormal altitude and "did not respond" to warning signals from the "USS Vincennes." The Italian president's message of condolences to Iranian President Khamene'i was reported by Rome radio at 2030 GMT on 4 July.

At 1730 GMT on 5 July, the radio reported on the Italian foreign minister's response to "urgent" parliamentary concerns about the incident, calling for UN intervention "to stop the conflict" and highlighting the "need for clarification of the Italian Navy's presence in the Gulf." Finally, the radio reported at 2030 GMT on 5 July that the prime minister had met with the opposition Socialist leader to discuss the situation in the Gulf. **France**—Paris radio, in a brief report broadcast at 2000 GMT on 3 July, cited the French Government's "consternation" over the downing and its request that "full light" be "shed as to the circumstances" of the incident. At 1300 GMT on 4 July the radio carried remarks made by the Iranian ambassador in Paris in which he questioned whether the downing was an accident. Khomeyni's declaration of war on the United States was also reported, in Paris radio's 0600 GMT cast on 5 July.

LE MONDE carried an editorial on 5 July crediting the United States for having rapidly admitted its responsibility for the Airbus downing, and noting that the circumstances of the incident were "very different" from those of the Soviet downing of the KAL airliner. The Paris daily added that Iranian "followers of terrorism" would certainly unleash their "fury" against the U.S. presence in the Gulf in response. It suggested that the Iraqis would use the incident to "surreptitiously fuel the conflagration," and implied that they were indirectly responsible for the "tragedy," in that their planes initiated the recent "insane" events by attacking two oil tankers bearing Iranian crude oil.

The conservative LE FIGARO praised President Reagan for having admitted responsibility and having immediately expressed U.S. regret for the "blunder" in the Persian Gulf. The fundamental question raised by the tragedy, according to the paper's 5 July editorial, is whether the United States' strategic choices have been wise. While LE FIGARO noted that the U.S. military "umbrella" has reassured the moderate Arab countries and deterred Iran, it wondered if it might not have been possible to secure the same result through diplomatic means. The paper concluded that the Americans became involved in the Gulf to maintain their credibility, and must now remain there for the same reason.

A commentary by Jacques Coubard appearing in the 4 July edition of the French Communist Party newspaper L'HUMANITE posited that there were no extenuating circumstances for the "U.S. policeman's crime." Coubard concluded by urging France to use its influence to ensure that negotiations are begun to end the Gulf conflict. **Spain**—Madrid radio carried lead items in its midday broadcasts on 3 and 4 July in which the Spanish Government's regret over the "tragic error" was highlighted. The radio linked the Gulf incident to the defusing of a bomb near the U.S. Embassy believed to have been planted by a "radical Islamic group," later reported to be the "International Anti-Imperialist Brigades."

The conservative Madrid newspaper ABC suggested that Washington will have to pay a high price in terms of its image for what was "one of the most serious episodes" in the Gulf war. The paper's 4 July editorial declared that the U.S. naval vessel's "mistaking" of the Airbus for an enemy strike bomber was "unacceptable." It noted, however, that, in contrast to the 1982 KAL case, "we do, in fact, seem to be dealing with an error rather than a deliberate act." **Scandinavia**—Coverage afforded the Gulf incident was sparse overall. Stockholm radio reported at 1600 GMT on 4 July on the heightened

security measures imposed at U.S. airlines and the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm in "fear of Iranian retaliation" for the downing, while Helsinki radio noted at 0830 GMT on 5 July that the Finnish Government had conveyed to the Iranian Government the fact that it "deeply deplores" the incident. Helsinki radio also noted that the Finnish Airline Pilots Association saw the Airbus downing as "an act of terrorism." **Netherlands**—Describing movements in the Persian Gulf as "high noon in the Strait of Hormuz," Amsterdam's DE VOLKSKRANT suggested that Washington is turning things upside down when it upbraids Iran for allowing civil aircraft to fly in a "war zone." Primary responsibility for the incident, the paper argues in a 5 July editorial, lies with the commander of the "USS Vincennes," and not with Iran Air. DE VOLKSKRANT concludes that it is justifiable to state that the United States has seriously overestimated its ability to operate in the Gulf with the necessary level of selectivity. **United Kingdom**—The DAILY TELEGRAPH termed the destruction of the Iranian airliner an "appalling mistake," which may have profound long-term consequences on U.S. Middle East policy and on Iran's relations with the West. In its 4 July editorial, the paper went on to state that the incident should not blind the international public to the success such naval patrols have had in maintaining an open international waterway through which much of the oil supplies for both Japan and the West pass, and noted that Iran cannot be viewed as an innocent party.

Monitored London PRESS ASSOCIATION coverage, beginning with a report at 1845 GMT on 3 July, focused on Britain's concern that there may be an "anti-West backlash" from the incident. Prime Minister Thatcher's expression of "profound regret" was reported, together with comment by the British opposition suggesting that an effort by Britain to distance itself from the United States in the wake of the incident would improve its chances "of bringing back our hostages." A statement by Iran's ambassador declaring that the U.S. personnel responsible should "face a court martial" was reported at 1147 GMT on 4 July. **Austria**—All Austrian dailies carried detailed reports on the Airbus downing in their 4-6 July editions.

Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German published a commentary on 4 July stating that while "the tragedy in the Gulf" was not the result of "a barbaric lust to kill," it highlights how easily human error can trigger a catastrophe. On 6 July the paper commented that the incident is a "bloody symbol of the many U.S. failures in this region in the past 10 years."

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German on 5 July carried a commentary comparing the incident to the 1983 Soviet downing of a Korean airliner, and concluding that "nothing can justify the U.S. action."

A report published by Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German on 5 July cited the reactions of Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, Foreign Minister Mock, and President Waldheim. Waldheim was quoted as viewing the development to be "extremely hazardous," inasmuch as there is the danger of "retaliation." Mock expressed the hope that "this tragic sacrifice" will lead "those with political responsibility to be more amenable to talks," while Vranitzky suggested that the deaths of the Airbus passengers demonstrate "how senseless and dangerous the Gulf war is."

The communist newspaper Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German severely condemned the United States in a 5 July report, recalling the downing of the KAL flight by the USSR and suggesting that on both occasions "the United States wanted to demonstrate its policy of strength," the result both times being the "unscrupulous" sacrifice of "the lives of many civilians." **FRG**—Bonn DIE WELT in German on 4 July carries a commentary by Fritz Wirth declaring that "no one can seriously accuse the United States of having intentionally caused this disaster. Its behavior in the Gulf war thus far excludes this possibility." Wirth went on to note that the United States "has exclusively played the role of a protective power to date, defending uninvolved and defenseless civilians against Iran's aggression." A second commentary by Fritz Wirth entitled "Terrible Consequences," published in Bonn DIE WELT on 5 July, notes that "the political tragedy of this catastrophe lies in the fact that political change is in the offing in Iran, and initial signals of detente have begun to appear between Washington and Tehran." The commentary adds that "it has become a bitter irony of history that U.S. presidents leave office under the stigma of an Iran crisis." Wirth also authored a 6 July commentary entitled "Reagan Insists on Presence in Gulf" in which he said that "the White House is clearly trying to play down the political relevance of the catastrophe." He also noted that the Iranian leaders "do not seem to be in agreement as to their reactions," contrasting Khomeyni's call for "all-out war" with Rafsanjani's warning of "precipitous reactions."

Frankurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German on 4 July published a commentary entitled "Death In the Gulf," noting that "only when death makes the headlines" do we realize that "the killing in the Gulf is endless." On 5 July the paper carried a front-page commentary by Karl-Alfred Odin entitled "The Catastrophe," in which the Iranian Airbus incident is contrasted with the 1983 Soviet downing of a Korean airliner. The author wrote that "the Iranian Airbus approached a warship that did not have enough time to thoroughly identify it, at low altitude and at high speed from a relatively close distance. In contrast, Soviet interceptors flew beside the Korean plane for a long time and identified it before they shot it down, over a region where no fighting was taking place." The commentator went on to say that "while it is not now possible to clearly place responsibility for the downing of the Airbus, it has been demonstrated to the Americans more clearly than ever before just how thoroughy their policy toward Iran invites disaster."

An article by Carlos Widmann appeared in the 5 July edition of Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, entitled "The Never-Ending Embarrassing Silence," which says that "apart from the regret expressed by President Reagan on Monday night, the U.S. nation did not permit itself to show any internationally noticeable reaction over its festive weekend," in contrast to the "outrageous outburst" that followed the destruction of the Korean airliner. The same paper published a commentary by Dieter Schroeder criticizing the United States for not having taken the necessary precautions to prevent such an incident and concluding that "the United States has jeopardized its peace mission in the Gulf and has contributed to the escalation and extension of the war."

West German reaction monitored from Hamburg DPA included the "great shock" expressed by Foreign Minister Genscher in condolences sent to Iran's foreign minister and the "deep consternation" felt by the federal government. DPA also carried a statement by the Iranian ambassador in Bonn indicating that the United States "consciously" intended to kill the passengers in order to "have an excuse for an attack on Iran." **Greece**—On 4 July, Athens radio reported a statement by a Greek Government spokesman in which he said that the "tragic event" was the "responsibility of the United States," as it has prolonged the tension in the Gulf. The ATHENS NEWS newspaper cited the Iranian ambassador to Greece as saying that the attack "will not go unanswered," though Iran does not want to "extend the Persian Gulf war to neighbouring countries and regions." While Greek papers and Athens radio carried extensive reports on the incident on 4 and 5 July, including ample coverage of U.S. officials' statements and explanations, the only monitored Greek comment on the incident came in a 6 July column published by the communist newspaper RIZOSPASTIS, describing the downing of the plane by the "international terrorist" as "mass murder" and urging the PASOK government to proceed with the removal of U.S. bases from Greece on the grounds that a similar "mistake" could happen anywhere where U.S. forces are present. **Cyprus**—Four Cyprus papers on 5 and 6 July criticized the U.S. downing of the Iranian airliner with varying degrees of severity. The communist paper KHARAVYI called the action "a political crime," while I SIMERINI said that "no excuse can be considered sufficient." O FILELEVTHEROS suggested that the precedent established with the USSR's downing of a Korean airliner cannot remove "the weight of responsibility" for the new incident. ELEVTHEROTIPIA criticized President Vasiliou for attending the U.S. Embassy Independence Day reception "on the day of the great slaughter." While Nicosia radio carried extensive reports on the incident, no reaction or comment was monitored. **Turkey**—The Istanbul newspaper CUMHURIYET commented on 5 July that the downing of the airliner by U.S. forces reveals that "high technology offers no reassurance" and suggested that the superpowers "seem to be behaving in an unbelievably indifferent way." Four other Istanbul papers—MILLIYET, TERCUMAN, HURRIYET, and GUNAYDIN—carried commentaries sounding similar notes, expressing the opinion that great danger results when the superpowers can make mistakes with such disastrous consequences, and declaring that the Gulf war must be brought to an end. Ankara radio reported extensively on the airbus downing, and carried the only monitored official Turkish reaction to the incident, a Foreign Ministry statement broadcast at 1000 GMT on 4 July expressing "deep regret" over the event and urging a speedy and peaceful solution to the Gulf war, arrived at "among the Gulf countries themselves, without any outside interference." The Turkish Foreign Ministry also called on concerned parties "to act calmly and to refrain from provocative acts that might exacerbate the situation." The radio also carried comments by the two opposition parties, the CWP and the SDPP. The former strongly denounced the attack and stressed that such attacks on civilian targets are unacceptable, while the SDPP expressed "deep regret" and urged that "the war that produced this inhuman attack and similar attacks must be stopped."

## CHINA

China's official reaction to the American downing of an Iranian commercial airliner on 3 July came in a statement the next day by the Foreign Ministry spokesman, transmitted by XINHUA. The spokesman said the Chinese were "shocked" to learn of the incident, and noted that they "condemn" the action. He also reaffirmed the Chinese Government's opposition to "big power military involvement" in the Gulf, and voiced hope for a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq war at the earliest possible date.

XINHUA's English-language service has carried nearly 80 reports on the incident, including a dispatch from a XINHUA correspondent who visited the scene. The agency's Chinese service has carried far fewer items, roughly a dozen, the bulk of which have cited American and Iranian declarations. Beijing radio's coverage has followed a similar pattern—fewer pieces on the event, with most quoting U.S. and Iranian statements.

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO, the country's leading paper, published a comment in its 5 July edition under the pen name Ming He. The article voiced "shock" at the shooting and reviewed the American and Iranian versions of the incident. While the article noted that a credible account "has yet to be verified," it expressed disbelief that a U.S. warship could mistake an Airbus for a jet fighter. RENMIN RIBAO added that the American military presence in the Gulf can only make the situation there "more complicated," and pointed out that it also infringes on navigation in the region. The piece concluded by calling on both Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities.

## EAST ASIA

**Japan**—The government's official reaction to the loss of Iran Air flight 655 came in a 4 July KYODO report on a news conference by Chief Cabinet Secretary Keizo Obuchi. Obchi told journalists that the government "deeply

regrets" the loss of life, and hopes the incident will not lead to increased tension in the Gulf. He also called for an "early and peaceful" settlement of the Iran-Iraq war.

Prime Minister Takeshita, currently on a visit to Australia, offered condolences to the victims and said he hoped there would be no "recurrence" of such a tragedy. He also expressed hope that the "tragic incident" would not lead to an escalation of tension in the Gulf, and came out in favor of an "early, peaceful settlement" of the Iran-Iraq war.

The Japan Socialist Party, a small opposition group, denounced the United States its action against the plane, which it termed an "unpardonable act." It also urged the United States to halt its "military intervention" in the Iran-Iraq war immediately, apologize for the incident, and compensate the victims' families.

The transport minister, Shintaro Ishihara, mentioned the clash in a meeting with the press following a 5 July cabinet meeting, where he was quoted as saying: "Though the United States has given various explanations, it is a lamentable incident that should not have happened"; "the government as a whole should take measures to guarantee the security of civil aircraft."

In its newscasts on 4 and 5 June, the Tokyo NHK General Television Network broadcast a large number of reports on the episode, including factual material on the event, Japanese reaction to it, its effect on the yen's rate of exchange, Japan Airlines' plan to modify its route over the site of the shooting, and the Transport Ministry's intention to have Japanese tankers continue their convoys through the Strait of Hormuz. **North Korea**—The DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman, in a statement aired by Pyongyang Domestic Service on 5 July, condemned the "brigandish act of air terrorism" by the "USS Vincennes" in shooting down the Iranian Airbus. According to the statement, the incident "reveals to the world once again that the U.S. imperialists—who fabricated the intrigue of the missing South Korean passenger plane and raved about so-called terrorism and sanctions—are the ringleaders of international terrorism." The Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement concluded that the United States "should stop aggravating tension in the Persian Gulf and immediately withdraw its aggressive armed forces from around the world." Pyongyang KCNA on 5 July reported that the downing by the "U.S. imperialists" was an "intentional" and "malicious act of retaliation for the downing of a U.S. helicopter in their encounter with Iranian naval boats." The report concluded by warning of "intensified military intervention and terrorism" by the United States. **South Korea**—The first official reaction of the South Korean Government to the downing of the Iranian Airbus was reflected in a Foreign Ministry statement carried by Seoul YONHAP on 5 July which instructed embassies in the Middle East to "strengthen measures for the safety of Koreans there in preparation for a possible escalation of the conflict in the region." On the same day, YONHAP transmitted a report on a statement issued by a Foreign Ministry spokesman in connection with the incident which expressed "profound regret" and "deep condolences."

THE KOREA HERALD, in an editorial published on 6 July, said that the "tragic destruction" "underscores the urgent need to find peaceful solution before more lives are lost." Recounting the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007 in 1983, the paper urged "all nations to join efforts to avoid a repetition of Sunday's tragic mishap, whatever its truth, and to assure a ruling that can bring peace and stability in that region of the world." In a more critical editorial published by THE KOREA TIMES on the same day, a parallel was drawn between the Iranian Airbus downing and the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007 on 1 September 1983. The editorial said that "now the United States has ironically been put into the Soviets' position" and that it "cannot escape worldwide censure over the undeniable fact that it attacked a passenger plane and killed nearly 300 people." It concluded by urging "restraint" on the part of Iran and "due remedial steps" to be taken by the United States. The two Seoul television stations, Seoul Television Service and Seoul MBC Television Network, carried extensive though generally neutral coverage of the incident. **Philippines**—Acting Foreign Secretary Jose D. Ingles, in a statement reported in the 6 July edition of the independent Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, extended his government's sympathy to the families of the passengers of Iran Air flight 655, and noted its regret at the loss of "innocent lives." The statement also reiterated an appeal for a peaceful solution to the 8-year war between Iran and Iraq, and expressed hope that all parties concerned "will take effective steps to prevent a repetition of this deplorable incident." The INQUIRER explained that Ingles' statement was in response to an appeal from the Iranian charge d'affaires, who requested condemnation of what he described as an act of "terrorism." In addition, the report quoted President Corazon Aquino, when asked if she condemned the attack, as saying: "I'm still waiting for the results of the investigation...." On 5 July, the same paper published an editorial under the headline "Terrorism," comparing the 3 July incident to the 1983 Soviet downing of a KAL airliner. The editorial called Iran "a Third World nation that asserts its sovereignty and bravely confronts even the mightiest powers in defense of what it regards as its national interest." The paper saw the incident as evidence that "the Iranians and other Third World peoples do not have a monopoly on terrorism. Americans, too, are just as capable of it."

In a 5 June editorial entitled "Hostages of U.S. Foreign Policy," THE MANILA CHRONICLE portrayed the incident as proof that "Americans can be just as murderous as the Soviets." The paper called the event a demonstration of the fact that "innocent people are very much at the mercy of chance when a superpower chooses to flex its muscle." The editorial also questioned the role of the Philippines in "this dubious political-economic-military effort." **Australia**—Prime Minister Bob Hawke

"'very deeply' regretted the disaster, which was a case of mistaken identity during heavy fighting between Iranian and U.S. gunships", in remarks carried by Hong Kong AFP on 4 July. The same item quoted Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Hayden as declaring that the "tragedy underscored the need for a lasting peace between Iran and Iraq." **Indonesia**—The Indonesian Government "regrets" the downing of an Iranian Airbus by U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, according to a Foreign Ministry statement transmitted on 6 July by the Jakarta press agency ANTARA. The ministry said the tragedy reflected the "increasing importance of efforts to stop the Iran-Iraq war" and noted that "the increasing number of foreign forces entering the Gulf region has increased the risk of involvement in the war."

A 6 July Jakarta radio commentary said the "tragic incident" could be viewed as a factor to persuade those involved in the Gulf conflict to settle their dispute. The station pointed out that the "horrible human tragedy would not have occurred had the United States not sent its warships to the Gulf." However, the radio added that the United States "would not have dispatched its forces to the Gulf had Iran heeded the world's call for an end to its war with Iraq."

In a 5 July statement to ANTARA, Imron Rosyadi, chairman of a parliamentary commission on defense and security, foreign affairs, and information, pointed out that "it is more than proper if the whole world criticizes and even condemns the shooting down of the Iranian jetliner." Roysadi termed the American operation a "shameful act" that "violated human norms." As for President Reagan's defense of the attack as legitimate self-defense, he declared that such an argument "does not make sense." "It is impossible," he continued, "to understand how a U.S. warship with the most modern and sophisticated equipment on board could possibly make a mistake." **Malaysia**—In a strongly worded declaration, reported by Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA on 5 July, the Foreign Ministry announced that the country "deplored" the destruction of the Iranian airliner. The ministry said "it is difficult to believe or accept U.S. claims that its forces could have committed the grave error of mistaking a large civilian aircraft for a military one." The government offered its condolences and "profound sympathy" over "the unmitigated disaster," which caused "consternation and deep anguish." **Thailand**—Commenting on the unofficial discussion of the incident by ASEAN foreign ministers on 4 July, Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila expressed his "deep regret," but "reserved further comment until more details are known," according to the 5 July edition of the Bangkok paper THE NATION. In an editorial in the same issue, under the headline "The U.S. Does What It Can; Iran Suffers What It Must," THE NATION said it is "indeed a human tragedy that U.S. servicemen and officers on "The Vincennes" couldn't tell an Airbus" from a "U.S.-built F-14 Tomcat." The editorial asserted that the "tendency of the U.S. to find solace in comparing this attack with the Soviet downing of the Korean Boeing 747 is, at best, deplorable. Having warned the Iranian Airbus seven times before blowing it off the skies didn't make the act less appalling."

In another editorial on 5 July, the BANGKOK POST urged the United States to "make a dramatic gesture" to defuse the crisis and restore confidence in American policies. In its commentary, entitled "Aftermath of a Terrible Tragedy," the paper mourned the loss suffered by the Iranian people. While the POST said there was no reason to doubt America's claim that the action was accidental, "the firing of a missile at the civilian airliner on a scheduled regular flight must nevertheless be deplored."

Among other press comment, the Thai-language daily MATICHON published an editorial on 5 July declaring that the "United States has no right to justify the incident as 'a proper defensive action' as President Reagan claimed. Such American rights do not cover the attack against a civilian airliner, which represents no threat to the life and property of the United States." The editorial referred to U.S. policy in the Gulf as "mistaken," for it tends to promote violence. As such, the paper recommended that the United States "use this extensive lesson to realize the time has come to adjust its policy in the Persian Gulf." **Vietnam**—On 5 July, Hanoi Domestic Service aired a report that characterized the downing of the Iranian Airbus as "a criminal action by the United States," which "has triggered indignation among the Iranian people and strong protests by world public opinion." The radio then reviewed Iranian Prime Minister Musavi's comments on the episode and a TASS report that called on the U.S. "to withdraw its fleets from the region." No official statements have been monitored from Vietnamese media. **Laos**—Citing TASS, Vientiane Domestic Service presented a report on 6 July covering the destruction of the Iranian passenger plane. On the same day, the station broadcast an "article" on the Iran-Iraq war, describing the loss of the Iran Air jet as further proof that the USSR's "correct and reasonable proposal" to end the Gulf conflict should be implemented.

## LATIN AMERICA

**Cuba**—The Cuban Foreign Ministry condemned the downing of the Iranian Airbus, according to a report carried by Havana International Service on 5 July. The report noted that the ministry rejected the U.S. version of the "massacre," as the equipment aboard the "Vincennes" "can clearly distinguish between military and civilian aircraft." The Cuban Foreign Ministry concluded that the "growing presence" of U.S. forces in the Gulf "represents a danger to international peace and security." A commentary aired by the same station the previous evening follows a similar outline but makes stronger charges. The commentary describes the "massacre" as a "barbaric act" and suggests that one could be led to believe that "this U.S. attack" was "intentional." It is impossible, the commentary adds, to draw a parallel between this incident and the downing of a South Korean airliner several years ago, for the Iranian plane

was in a corridor "well marked on international air traffic maps." The commentary closed by pointing out that with only a few months left in his administration, "Reagan has another crime on his hands." **Nicaragua**—The Nicaraguan Government took advantage of a message from President Daniel Ortega "to the U.S. people" on the occasion of Independence Day to include, in the final paragraph, a comment describing the downing of the Iranian aircraft as "a true act of genocide," which demonstrates U.S. "contempt for international law" and "betrays the ideals of those who fought and died for American independence." The message was aired by Managua radio on 4 July. **Panama**—In an official communique reported by Panama City Domestic Service on 4 July and later carried in full by the government newspaper CRITICA, the Panamanian Government attributed recent events in the Persian Gulf to America's "unbridled desire for domination." The communique charges that U.S. claims of a "mistake or error" are "unacceptable excuses." **Argentina**—A communique released by the Press Directorate at Government House on 3 July and carried by Buenos Aires DYN expressed "deep consternation" over the loss of the Iranian Airbus. The declaration added that the Argentine Government "expects the circumstances and the responsibility of those who caused it to be clarified." The communique also reiterated Argentina's belief that a "quick and final solution" must be found for the conflict. **Brazil**—In a 4 July communique broadcast by Brasilia radio, the Foreign Ministry expressed "deep sorrow" at the loss of "many innocent lives" in the downing of Iran Air flight 655. The statement noted that international civil aviation "must not be threatened by this type of event," and underlined the need for "maximum restraint" by all parties in the Persian Gulf. On 5 July, Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre reported that when President Sarney, who is currently visiting the PRC, learned of the incident, "he deplored it" as an "accident of war." According to Sodre, Sarney added that "we must all work to eliminate wars from the earth, because they are the cause of deplorable disasters such as this." **Uruguay**—In a 5 July communique reported by Montevideo Radio El Espectador, the Foreign Ministry voiced its "consternation" over the downing of an Iranian Airbus by U.S. forces. The ministry also expressed hope that the regional conflict could be resolved in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 598. In its own resolution on the incident, the Uruguayan Senate, expressing its "deepest consternation" over the action and calling for "a thorough investigation for the total clarification of the tragedy and the determination of responsibility," added its "total and full solidarity with the Iranian people."

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

**Ghana**—In a strongly worded statement broadcast by Accra radio on 4 July, the Ghanaian Government described the American action in the Gulf as "not only unforgivable and violent, but also as a deliberate provocation against Iran that could lead to an escalation of the Gulf war." The declaration called for "an immediate investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations, into the circumstances of the shooting down of the airliner."

Press and radio commentary has echoed the harsh tone set by the government statement. In a 5 July editorial cited by Accra Domestic Service, the GHANAIAN TIMES suggested that the American operation may have been a "deliberate" attempt "to provoke Iran into direct confrontation" as part of a "U.S. plan to do something dramatic in order to provide a world outcry for an end to the war." On the same day, Accra radio condemned the "halfhearted, even downright callous reaction of Western allies" to the incident, highlighting the UK and Italy in particular. A similar station commentary on 6 July explained that "contrary to President Reagan's opinion, the matter is not closed, and one hopes that when the results of the investigations are known, appropriate sanctions will be applied." **Nigeria**—The Nigerian Government summoned the U.S. ambassador on 5 July to express its "shock" over the incident, and said that "more care should have been taken by the U.S. naval warship." At the same time, the government called on Iran and the families of the victims to "exercise restraint in the face of this tragedy."

In general, the press has been far more critical of the United States. In a 5 July commentary, the NEW NIGERIAN portrayed the killing of 300 Iranian civilians as "an irresponsible and vicious aggression by the desperate power," and likened the act to the "series of crimes being committed by the Americans in the Middle East in the past 10 years." On 6 July, the DAILY TIMES wrote that President Reagan was "fully aware of the consequences" of sending warships to the Gulf, while THE SKETCH called the American claim that the Iranian airliner had been mistaken for an F-14 a "flimsy" excuse. **South Africa**—In remarks reported by Johannesburg radio on 5 July, President P.W. Botha said it was "strange" that while Washington could offer "excuses" for shooting down a civilian airliner, South Africa was branded a "terrorist state" by leading American groups for protecting its "own interests" against "international terrorism."

## Gorbachev Meets With Pact Defense Ministers

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[Text] Moscow, 7 Jul (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met with the participants in the regular session of the Defense Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Pact states under way in Moscow.

The meeting was attended by Army General D. Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense; Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian minister of defense; Army General Kessler, GDR minister of national defense; Army General F. Siwicki, Polish minister of national defense; Lieutenant General V. Stanculescu, Romanian first deputy minister of national defense; Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense; Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of national defense; V.G. Kulikov, marshal of the USSR and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries; and Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR and general of the Army, who chairs the session, informed those present about the course of the committee's work.

The meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, focused on the tendencies in the development of the international situation, the correlation of military and political means of ensuring security in present-day conditions, and other matters. It was stressed that the work of the Defense Ministers' Committee proceeded in the mainstream direction of building the Armed Forces, which was defined by the defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states.

"We put high value on the cooperation of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union with the armies of our allies and friends. Military men shoulder a heavy responsibility. We appreciate your professional experience, loyalty to your patriotic and international duty. Peaceful endeavor of our peoples, world peace, depends in many ways on you, on the farsightedness of your political approach," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

## Ryzhkov Addresses Prague CEMA Session

*PM0607114088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Toward New Frontiers of Cooperation; 44th CEMA Session Meeting"]

[Text] Prague, 5 Jul—The CEMA member-countries are entering a qualitatively new stage of development of their national economies and multilateral cooperation. They are faced with an important task: ensuring in the very near future a resolute transfer of their national economies to an intensification footing, the acceleration of economic development rates, the improvement of production relations, and an increase in the production of output on a par with the best world models. The fraternal countries' collective efforts are aimed at the most effective possible use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

The 44th CEMA session, which opened in Prague today, was devoted to topical problems of restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and intensifying socialist economic integration, toward whose solution the strategic aims of the fraternal countries' communist and workers parties are directed.

Taking part in the session's work are delegations headed by G. Atanasov, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; J. Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and Hungary's permanent CEMA representative; Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; C.R. Rodriguez, vice president of the Cuban councils of state and ministers; D. Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers; Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers; C. Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L. Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government; and CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, a Yugoslav delegation headed by J. Zemljanic, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, took part in the work of the CEMA session.

Representatives from the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia are participating in the meeting of the session as observers.

Opening the session, L. Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government, warmly welcomed the participants. He noted: We are under the profound impression generated by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which is the focus of attention of the world public and of course of the Czechoslovak Communists and our entire people. The conference demonstrated most convincingly the historical breakthrough which is taking place in Lenin's party and throughout Soviet society. The Soviet Communists' innovative approach toward all important questions of today and tomorrow and the observance of the basic principles on which the building of socialist society is based serve as an inspiring example to us. It is the new view of tasks and problems and the boldness, resolve, and consistency in implementing them which will undoubtedly exert great influence on CEMA's entire activity.

The present CEMA session meeting, the speaker continued, is taking place in a period when the political climate in the world is changing, trust between countries is increasing, and the first disarmament agreements are being concluded. The peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-countries and the efforts of the nonaligned countries are meeting with increasing support in the world. The world assessed highly the efforts of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who resumed summit level dialogue with the United States and is consistently seeking its constant expansion and development.

The Czechoslovak head of government said that the CEMA member-countries' attention is focused on the tasks of enhancing the intensification of economic development, effectiveness, and quality, and achieving balance in their national economies. Great importance is attached to restructuring and the improvement of economic mechanisms.

However, the speaker said, we are at the very beginning of restructuring both in the countries themselves and in integration processes as a whole. The stagnation in mutual trade and in production sharing, the slow headway in the field of science and technology urgently demand that we progress more rapidly and boldly. Here it is essential to bear in mind the ultimate goal—an integrated economic complex including a unified socialist market.

R. Rohlicek, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee and the CSSR's permanent CEMA representative, delivered the CEMA Executive Committee report on CEMA's activity between the 42d and 44th CEMA session meetings.

The head of the Soviet delegation, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a speech at the CEMA session meeting.

We see the aim of this session, the head of the Soviet Government said, above all in taking a practical step in the development of socialist integration and the qualitative renewal of our cooperation. The Soviet delegation's approach toward these questions is determined by the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which has just ended. It was an event of tremendous importance. Its decisions have become an expression of the Soviet people's political will and a new source of their creative energy. They lend powerful additional impetus to the process of revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union's political, economic, and social development. Advancing as the key task the reform of the political system on the basis of consistent democratization and glasnost, our party is ensuring reliable guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring.

The entire course of the debates and the resolutions adopted by the conference make it possible to develop and intensify substantially the assessment of key problems and phenomena of the present day. For the Soviet delegation they serve as the initial position for the further quest for solutions to the complex tasks set recently by the fraternal parties' Central Committees in the sphere of intensifying the socialist countries' cooperation and improving the forms and methods of socialist integration and CEMA's activity.

Having comprehensively analyzed the process of restructuring in the USSR, the party conference reached the conclusion that it is proceeding in a contradictory manner, through the overcoming of difficulties and the struggle of the new against the old. In this struggle the new thinking, making it possible constantly to improve and develop policy in accordance with the course of our life, is becoming our chief weapon.

In the economy the main result of the 3 years since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum is that we have succeeded in halting the growth of negative trends threatening to develop into a crisis situation. Industrial production growth rates have increased, there has been an increase in the commissioning of fixed capital, and agricultural production output has increased somewhat. A number of heights of fundamental importance to us have been scaled in the social sphere. Among them we should note primarily the advances in housing construction: The annual commissioning of housing in the USSR has increased by 15 million square meters compared with the preceding, 11th, 5-Year Plan.

Essentially, social reorientation is becoming the pivot of structural and investment policy, the cornerstone of the shaping of pace and proportions in the national economy.

For the success of restructuring great importance is attached to the positive changes which have begun in international relations. They are largely the result of the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the result of the understanding which is growing everywhere, of the interdependence of the modern world, and of the need for a joint quest for solutions to acute global problems. All this is leading to the renunciation of old ideas in virtually any field of social relations and to the adoption of the principles of the new thinking placed at the foundation of the all-embracing concept of international security which the Soviet Union is advancing.

And today we are witnessing elements of the new thinking beginning to become stronger, spreading, and becoming real factors of world politics. This is confirmed by the very important event that the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit meeting became.

At the same time the conference's objective analysis of the processes taking place in the USSR, in the socialist community, and in the world as a whole shows that the

positive phenomena which have been noted still give no grounds for speaking of a fundamental change in the situation. That also fully applies to the assessment of the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union, where a more serious neglect of affairs than initially supposed has been revealed.

The irrational structure which had taken shape earlier and which had become increasingly fossilized during the years of stagnation, was a heavy burden for our national economy. This structure is one of the main reasons for the slow restructuring of social production and for the difficulties in implementing the course toward enhancing social production's efficiency and accelerating technical progress and is the reason for the continuing tension in the consumer market and the currency and financial sphere.

The new economic mechanism laid down by the economic reform makes it possible to overcome these difficulties. Today the main achievement of the economic reform is that the sense of being masters of their country and of their future—a sense which had been lost for many years—is again being regenerated in Soviet people. This opens the way to the solution of the problem of transferring the Soviet economy to the footing of intensification. In the past 2 years of the 5-Year Plan the prime cost of output in industry has dropped more substantially than for the entire preceding 5-year period. The pace of the renewal of output in machine building has trebled. In 1987 the entire increase in the national income was for the first time obtained by increasing labor productivity.

The need for resolute and consistent progress along the path of radical economic reform toward a qualitatively new model of socialist management is particularly obvious in the context of the difficulties and contradictions inherent in the present stage of restructuring.

We are seeking to actively utilize the regulating role of the law of value and to create conditions where economic competitiveness will ensure that producers respond promptly to changes in social needs and the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. To this end we are creating a management system within which the state will systematically channel enterprises' economic activity toward nationwide interests mainly by means of economic instruments rather than by administrative methods.

The CPSU considers the introduction of fundamental changes in the nature and extent of the country's involvement in the international division of labor an important task of restructuring. The present state of affairs in this sphere can in no way satisfy us. The Soviet Union's share of international trade corresponds to neither its economic nor its political position in the world. The structure of foreign trade turnover remains archaic. All this proves that the residual approach to economic ties with foreign countries over the many years of domination by command-and-administer methods of management is completely obsolete.

We have already informed our friends repeatedly about the measures being taken to create a qualitatively new mechanism for foreign economic activity. As with any major restructuring, we are not managing to avoid certain flaws here, but we have no doubt about the correctness of the adopted course of actively involving enterprises in international economic relations.

The CPSU Central Committee report to the party conference noted that world socialism is going through a difficult, crucial period. Given this, the Soviet Union continues to give priority to relations with fraternal countries. The high share of our foreign economic turnover which they account for—more than 60 percent—is eloquent confirmation of this. We are fighting together with our friends—on a bilateral and multilateral basis—within the CEMA framework to resolve the key tasks of scientific and technical progress and master modern forms of economic cooperation. Our cooperation helps ensure that the countries' needs for basic kinds of raw materials, fuel, and energy are reliably met, creates conditions for the organization of major modern production units in countries with an insufficiently large market, and contributes to enriching consumer goods stocks. The further shifting of cooperation toward solving social questions and enhancing the prosperity of the peoples in socialist countries is one of the most pressing tasks today.

However, one is bound to feel concern at the negative processes which are increasingly making themselves felt in economic cooperation among CEMA member-countries. The historically developed extensive model of the division of labor among our countries has exhausted its potential. That is the opinion of our delegation. The dynamics of exchange have fallen to an unacceptably low level: Since 1985 the overall value of deliveries among the CEMA member-countries has increased by only 4 percent. We are failing entirely to put the development of intrasectorial scientific and production cooperation on a sound footing. The comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress is as yet exerting only a weak influence on the modernization of the production base of our economies. Unfortunately, the creation and introduction of revolutionary production techniques is not often the result of cooperation.

It is impossible to make a breakthrough in the prevailing situation without our countries' mobilizing all their internal potential. Tasks of implementing major structural restructurings aimed at forming flexible national economic complexes that are optimal from the standpoint of international criteria come to the fore. We in the Soviet Union now regard these as priority questions, without a solution to which we can hardly count on success in intensifying the national economy.

From this standpoint we assess positively the draft collective concept of the international division of labor presented to the session. In our opinion, it correctly reflects the global trends of the development of production and of the industrial and social infrastructure. The concept can serve as the initial basis for coordinating the restructuring of the structure of the national economy and reciprocal comnmodity circulation, imparting dynamism to CEMA exchanges, and enhancing our competitiveness in the world market. Its provisions must be developed and given specific form during the coordination of plans and be made the basis of further accords on the division of labor and labor cooperation among fraternal countries leading to an increase in the proportion of modern machines, equipment, consumer goods, and materials involving highly intensive processing in our exchanges. This is inseparably connected with ensuring a high technical standard of output. Of course, if countries have the desire to reflect the areas of specialization of their national economies more fully in the concept, we would also support such proposals.

Essentially the same tasks of structural restructuring will be resolved by implementing the progams of cooperation between the European CEMA member-countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia on a multilateral basis. The practice hitherto has been different—aid to those countries was not coordinated or comprehensive, which markedly reduced its efficiency. Now each of the three programs has been formulated collectively, based on the aggregate potential of the fraternal countries of Europe. These programs will be carried out on preferential economic terms, but in terms of their thrust they are similar in many respects to the collective concept. Paramount importance is attached to substantially enhancing the efficiency of economic collaboration and improving the utilization by Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia of their own resources and of the resources allocated for tackling those countries' key socioeconomic development problems and their participation in the international division of labor.

The concept creates quite a good long-term basis for mutually advantageous cooperation with the other socialist states which do not belong to CEMA. As is shown by, for instance, our recent bilateral talks with China and by contacts between China and other community countries, there are considerable reserves for the development of foreign economic relations with the PRC. These reserves are also far from exhausted in relations with Yugoslavia.

Noting the importance of the coordinated restructuring of our national economic structures, the Soviet side believes that the attainment of this goal is scarcely possible within the framework of the existing mechanism of cooperation. The economic mechanism and the structure of the national economy, national economic proportions, are two sides of social reproduction and, as the experience accumulated so far bears out, the lack of a flexible commodity-money mechanism which could be formed under real market conditions, by complicating deviations from the existing structure of exchanges, thus also impedes the implementation of structural restructuring plans.

That is why the time has come for in-depth qualitative changes in the sphere of the fraternal countries' cooperation. As is well known, this task was set at the working meeting of our parties' leaders in 1986 in Moscow. At the last session we adopted a vast program for restructuring integration collaboration and outlined in general features the course toward forming a unified market in the community.

The question of why we are doing this now, when we are essentially at the very lowest point of the trajectory leading to the creation of this market, is in our view of fundamental importance. Of course, the ensuring of a high degree of uniformity of economic conditions, the relatively free movement of goods, services, manpower, and finances between our countries' economic organizations, and the unified macroeconomic regulation of economic processes—regulation based on a coordinated policy—are a matter for the remote future. But we must keep this prospect in mind even now. For us the unified market is not a fashionable slogan but an important guideline for the development of the integration process.

The feeble use of commodity-money relations has today become not only a "bottleneck" in integration but also a factor exerting adverse influence on economic progress in our countries. It makes it more difficult for us to resolve the tasks of intensification and to achieve efficiency, deprives us of the opportunity to correctly evaluate expenditures of socially necessary labor, and thus serves as an obstacle to the assimilation of technological achievements. Hence there is a failure to resolve questions of quality and the low degree of competitiveness and stagnation in the structure of commodity exchange.

Despite the differing conditions in the community countries and despite the peculiarities of their management systems, there is a certain common trend in the direction of the development of the creative activeness of all strata of society and the stepping up of receptiveness toward the achievements of technical progress and the capacity to respond to changing conditions, first and foremost changing social needs. But the mechanism of foreign economic relations still remains largely as it was, and that denies us the opportunity to take full advantage of the benefits of the socialist division of labor, cannot create the necessary preconditions for socialist competitiveness, and does not stimulate the pursuit of new technological solutions.

At the same time there is a real possibility of bringing the economic mechanism into action in not only the domestic sphere, but also the foreign sphere. Thus with the development of wholesale trade in the means of production in the CEMA member-countries, the conditions arise for bringing in enterprises from partner countries.

Other means of expanding free trade exchange also exist—the development of nonquota and border trade and trade exchange operations between individual regions of countries and enterprises in the state and cooperative sector.

In the production sphere, the deepening of our countries' economic collaboration is determined by the direct, wide involvement of the basic economic component—the enterprise—in cooperation and by the establishment of direct production ties. This is an effective lever for the development of intrasector cooperation.

The development of market relations and direct ties requires new approaches to price, currency, credit, and other instruments of our cooperation. We are therefore setting a course of restructuring the economic mechanism of socialist integration.

Naturally, in the course of restructuring of the integration mechanism there is inevitably a transitional period, during which new and old elements will coexist. The guarantee of the strengthening of the new elements is the fact that in the majority of our countries the basic features of the economic reforms coincide. They are aimed at the increasingly wide application of economic methods in production management, planning, and distribution of resources, the strengthening of enterprises' autonomy and the competitive principles of their activity, and the democratization of all economic life.

The introduction of new methods of economic cooperation can take place only on a totally voluntary basis, through bilateral and multilateral accords between interested countries. The way should be open for endeavor and experiment in the CEMA organs. I do not think this will do any damage to the interests of nonparticipating states. In this respect another idea worthy of attention is that put forward at the conference of the fraternal parties' Central Committee secretaries in Budapest, of creating international socialist firms based on leading enterprises in individual countries. We are prepared to study this matter thoroughly with those partners who are interested.

The course of gradually creating a united market should in no sense be regarded as evidence of a desire for collective autarky by the CEMA member-countries.

At one time ideas on the position of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community in the world economic system were based on the concept of the disintegration of the single world maket, an ever increasing distance between the socialist and capitalist economic complexes, and the weakening of the links between them. Life has shown that this idea failed to take account of the powerful influence of the scientific and technical revolution on modern-day production, its ever more complex structure, and the rapid growth of material, intellectual, and cultural needs in the modern world.

In the conditions of the deepening interdependence of all states, our socialist market will be based on collaboration with the world economy, taking into account world market trends. For our countries, this means a more profound turn toward opening up their own markets, first and foremost to the socialist community countries, and then to other countries as well. It means the start of more active, more organic involvement in the international division of labor.

The reserves that exist in economic cooperation between socialist and developed capitalist states can be judged from the fact that between them they account for three-fourths of world industrial production, while their mutual trade totals only 2-3 percent of the total volume of world trade.

Of course, we must not oversimplify this issues. After all, it is a question of collaboration between two different socioeconomic systems, with all the ensuing contradictions. In these conditions a constructive approach is needed on both sides.

The policy of restrictions on trade with socialist countries and the application of various discriminatory rules to them, which the leading capitalist states still adhere to, is patently an anachronism today. It restricts the potential for mutually advantageous economic ties, and runs counter to the objective trend toward internationalization of the economy and to the positive changes that are taking place in the military-political atmosphere.

In a significant proportion of Western business circles there is now a growing interest in cooperation with the socialist countries. The deepening of East-West political dialogue creates favorable conditions for expanding the scale of economic contacts and acts as the basis of political stability.

The establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC is a step in this direction. This fact in itself was a notable political event, in accordance with the spirit of our times. It is a real contribution to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act and to the improvement of the climate in this region and throughout the world. It could promote the implementation of major all-European projects in various sectors of the economy, including the environment, science and technology, power, and transportation.

Increasing significance is attached to deepening economic relations with the developing countries, in which nearly four-fifths of the world's population live. Our interests in ensuring economic growth and social progress and the stability of conditions for attaining these goals objectively coincide.

We warmly welcome the representatives of Angola, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia who are taking part in our meeting.

The strengthening of economic ties with this group of countries is of fundamental significance both from the viewpoint of forming a new "technological model" of exchange in the community, and from the viewpoint of its collaboration with the world economy. The developing countries form an important sector of the world economy, on which the dynamic of its further growth largely depends, but even those of them that have achieved a relatively high level of economic development find many aspects of the international economic relations that exist today do not suit them. They cannot find to their liking the growth of debts, protectionism, and avenues of development that are determined by external factors and do not promote the resolution of urgent socioeconomic tasks.

Therefore, in building their own dynamic "technological model" of exchanges, the socialist countries can and should, in our opinion, seek forms of cooperation with the developing countries which will help to strengthen positive trends in the world economy and meet the interests of the participants in this cooperation. The structure of our trade and economic ties with the developing countries, like the structure of ties within the socialist community, must improve and be supplemented by production ties. New forms of cooperation will be used increasingly widely in our mutual relations. In formulating their foreign economic strategy from this standpoint, the socialist countries will be able to find answers to many questions that have arisen in their economic development and in their mutual cooperation. At the same time we will significantly deepen the prerequisites for the establishment of more effective and more balanced world economic ties. Thus for the first time throughout the period of confrontation between the two world systems, a durable tissue of economic relations could be established as the basis of peaceful coexistence.

The Soviet delegation believes that the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor put forward for discussion at the present CEMA session accords with the line of restructuring and renewal of the socialist countries' cooperation and with their active, dynamic participation in international economic relations, and will vote for its adoption.

In conclusion N.I. Ryzhkov expressed cordial gratitude on behalf of the Soviet delegation to the Czechoslovak comrades for the good conditions created for the CEMA session's work, and for their attentiveness to the participants in the session.

Today's meeting was addressed by the heads of the delegations from the CEMA countries and the SFRY and representatives of countries taking part in the session's work as observers. Reports were then delivered by S. Ovcharov, chairman of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning Activity, and I.S. Belousov, chairman of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Electronics.

The session continues.

### Receives SFRY Official

*LD0607180788 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Prague July 6 TASS—Today Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in Prague Janez Zemljaric, deputy president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia and head of the Yugoslav delegation at the 44th meeting of the CMEA session.

There was an exchange of opinions on the development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in various spheres, the progress of work to translate into life understandings reached during the Yugoslav visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Much attention was given to questions of raising efficiency of trade and economic relations, removal of factors containing their development. The two sides expressed interest in stepping up the search for new forms of cooperation conforming to peculiar features of the national economies of the two countries, in expanding direct relations and in establishing joint ventures (proceeding from their economic expediency).

The sides pointed to the importance of restructuring the mechanism of economic cooperation and integration within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and its most active and broad use in the interests of building socialism.

### Academician Bogomolov on CEMA Economic Reforms

*LD0607054288 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Report on interview with Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, by station commentator Yakub Malikin on the subject: "What Excites Economists Today?"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Comrade Bogomolov, I remember that the newspaper MOSKOVKIYE NOVOSTI published your article at the beginning of this year which said that the CEMA member-countries had entered 1988 with economic indicators that were far from the best. The planned pace of the growth of the national income has not been maintained everywhere. There have been many criticisms directed at the quality of production. Mutual exchange of goods among CEMA member-countries has not been sufficient. The first question by our reporter was: Has the situation altered in the current period?

Regrettably, we have not yet succeeded in overcoming the negative aspects in economic relations between the CEMA member-countries. We have not yet succeeded in eliminating tendencies which worry us, Academician Bogomolov replied. At the same time there is no doubt that more and more prerequisites have been set recently to improve the situation both in the individual countries

and in economic cooperation between them. It is well known that many CEMA member-countries have begun to make radical changes in their economic systems, Oleg Bogomolov stressed. The command methods of management are being eliminated. One needs to say openly that this is our problem just as much as it is the problem of our friends.

Having said A one also needs to say B. In relations among the CEMA member-countries one needs to go from administrative decisions at the level of ministries—which frequently remain merely on paper—over to real and direct ties between enterprises, to setting up joint organizations. The reason why this is important is because what is involved is a path toward the restructuring of economic relations which we all need like salt. We economists know that many good programs have been launched within the CEMA framework but that not all of them have been carried through to the end. The reasons were bureaucratic obstacles and the formalistic approach to tasks. It was clear that new and more effective forms of cooperation were needed, such as direct ties between enterprises, joint organizations, and so on.

What is the practice? We are to carry out a comprehensive program for the CEMA member-countries' scientific and technological progress up to the year 2000. In the life of our countries much depends on the success of this program. The issue is whether we shall be in the vanguard of science and technology. The new forms of cooperation previously mentioned must play an important role in the implementation of this program, as well as other joint programs. It seems that life itself does not raise any doubts among us; these only occur from the theoretical point of view. And in practice? Direct ties between Soviet and Bulgarian machine tools manufacturers, for instance, have proven themselves well. However, we shall not be misled by such hopeful examples, for there are not many such successful agreements. But there are truly many agreements on direct ties that have not been carried out, which naturally gives cause for concern.

To the reporter's question on what is topical today in cooperation between the CEMA member-countries and what worries economists, Academician Oleg Bogomolov replied:

The imperfection of our currency and financial systems, which are to become an effective tool of encouraging cooperation. It was exactly in this way that the question was raised at the working meeting of leading representatives of the CEMA member-countries in November 1986. Enterprises should have the opportunity to pay each other either in their own country's currency or in the currency of the country of their counterparts. It is necessary to set economically justified rates on exchange of one's currency for the currencies of other CEMA member-countries and the convertible Western currencies. Something is being done in this respect. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia as well as the Soviet Union and Bulgaria have signed agreements under which it will be possible to pay within the framework of direct ties either in rubles or kornnas in the first instance and in rubles and levas in the second instance. Naturally, this is only the beginning but such experiences will spread.

We are also concerned about the creation of a combined market of the socialist countries. This idea is gaining more and more support. The advantages of such a market are indisputable. Work is going on currently on this matter in the socialist countries and details are being examined by economists. The creation of a combined socialist market was also discussed at the 19th all-union party conference as one of current forms of economic cooperation.

## United States & Canada

### U.S. Media 'Hushed Up' Soviet MIA Committee

*PM0607085188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 9*

[Own correspondent Iona Andronov dispatch: "Through the Wall of Callousness"]

[Text] New York—The "International Committee To Rescue Soviet Prisoners in Afghanistan" has now been active for 3 weeks in New York. The committee's founders are currently meeting with influential representatives of various political forces and holding talks with them—talks which are at present confidential, so it is still premature to divulge their essence today. The cause, the subject of these talks, has hitherto been devoid of public support here, to put it unequivocally. Alas, there has been no response to the committee's appeal: "We ask all charitable people to support our initiative with public sympathy." This has not happened for one reason: The creation of the committee has up until now been hushed up by all leading newspapers and the television.

A press briefing was held recently at the UN Secretariat for newspaper, radio, and television company correspondents accredited there. In their presence, your correspondent asked the UN secretary general's spokesman to comment on recent events. I mentioned that Moscow newspapers have published a TASS report to the effect that the USSR Foreign Ministry has asked the United Nations to facilitate the urgent return home from Pakistan and Afghanistan of imprisoned Soviet servicemen. However, the International Red Cross linked closely to the United Nations stated on behalf of its emissaries in Pakistan that it has "no concrete information about Soviet prisoners of war." The Pakistani authorities made the same announcement. But this hardly corresponds to the truth, for it recently came to light in New York that a group of local anti-Sovietists secretly brought 10 Soviet prisoners out of Afghanistan and is hiding them from the press and the public. Why? The unwilling prisoners are evidently being brainwashed while in isolation. As has happened before, they are being intimidated with lies about the repression, military tribunals, and imprisonment allegedly threatening them at home. Can the United Nations tell the prisoners about this deception? Can't the United Nations just ensure that the prisoners see their wretched mothers again?

"We will make a note of your statement," a UN official responded laconically with diplomatic composure.

"Please also recommend that UN emissaries in Pakistan ask Afghan mujahidin leaders not to harm the other prisoners, whom the international committee is preparing to help out openly and honestly."

"We will also make a note of that request," the UN leadership representative repeated.

None of the journalists present asked a single supplementary question. The U.S. press once again did not breathe a word about the tragic fate of the imprisoned soldiers.

The next day, however, the UN secretary general's representative told journalists:

"The question raised yesterday about Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan is deemed to be a matter solely for the International Red Cross."

Nonetheless, 24 hours later, the same official had stopped making indifferent excuses.

"Soviet representatives in New York have asked the UN secretary general to urgently tackle the problem of Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan."

This change is above all due to V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is now here. He was instrumental in getting a delegation from the international committee received very kindly by UN Under Secretary General Diego Cordovez after the aforementioned altercations. This now well-known diplomat heard out the visitors attentively and promised to do what he could to help.

### Pentagon Briefings on Airbus Downing Reported

*LD0707065288 Moscow TASS in English 0525 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 7 TASS—U.S. Defense Minister Frank Carlucci and other representatives of the Pentagon held Wednesday closed briefings for congressmen where they informed them of details of the shooting down of an Iranian passenger airliner by a U.S. cruiser.

After meetings with Pentagon officials a number of senators and congressmen made statements justifying the actions of the Vincennes crew that led to the death last Sunday of about 300 passengers and the crew of the plane belonging to the Iranian air company. Specifically, Robert Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, said that the American sailors had found themselves in an extremely difficult and inconvenient situation when they had had to take decisions in a very limited period of time. Robert Dole, Senate minority leader, also explained the actions of the U.S. servicemen by a tense combat situation in the Persian Gulf.

Senator Brock Adams assessed the situation in a different way. He said that the shooting down of the airliner should lead to the immediate revision of the U.S. foreign policy in the region. Tony Coelho, deputy leader of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, left the meeting with a Pentagon spokesman with a feeling that the tragedy could be repeated today or tomorrow, and they would not be able to prevent it.

Marlin Fitzwater, White House spokesman, pointed out however that the administration was not going to review its course with regard to the Persian Gulf because, in their opinion, it was reasonable and correct.

### 'Contradictions' in Story Noted

*PM0707103388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the general heading: "On the Tragedy in the Persian Gulf. Contradictions in the Pentagon's Version"]

[Text] Washington—During the few days since the tragedy in the Persian Gulf, neither the White House nor the Pentagon has revealed many important circumstances of the Iranian passenger aircraft's destruction. What is more, as THE WASHINGTON POST points out, the additional data that have come from the Pentagon have only raised new questions. These are as follows:

1. According to statements by Pentagon spokesman D. Howard, the Iran Air airbus was shot down from an altitude of 12,600 feet above sea level. Yet it had been claimed earlier that the airliner had descended from 9,000 to 7,800 feet, moving toward the cruiser. This was assessed precisely as an indication of an attack on the cruiser.

2. "Why did the commander of the 'Vincennes' not know that the aircraft he shot down was on a scheduled civil flight?" THE NEW YORK TIMES asks. "The flight is included in the official directory of flights in that region." The Pentagon has admitted that at the time of the incident, the captain of the "Vincennes" and his subordinates looked urgently at the flight directory but "did not notice" the line in it relating to the Bandar 'Abbas-Dubayy flight.

3. Pentagon spokesmen maintain that the airliner was transmitting identification signals on two channels at once—civilian and military. This allegedly provided grounds for believing that it was an F-14 military fighter. However, this claim was disputed by an Iranian civil pilot who addressed a news conference in London. Iranian passenger aircraft are equipped only with transponders that operate on the civilian channel, he reported.

4. And, finally, the "Vincennes" commander's hastiness in pressing the missile launch button raises a question. THE WASHINGTON POST reports that "U.S. naval aviation veterans dispute the Defense Department version according to which an Iranian F-14 poses such a serious threat as to justify firing from long distance."

Drawing attention to the vaguenesses and contradictions in the Pentagon's official version, the U.S. press points out that the tragedy in the Persian Gulf is not the only episode during which civil passenger flights over the Persian Gulf have been jeopardized by the U.S. ships concentrated there. Thus, according to THE WASHINGTON POST's data, on 8 June a U.S. ship ordered a Boeing 747 airliner by radio to change course on approaching Ash Shariqah Airport in the United Arab Emirates. Only the airport's air traffic controllers were able to avert a disaster. If the aircraft had changed course as ordered by the ship, it might have collided with another aircraft which had taken off from that airport. The Emirate authorities were obliged to send a protest note to the U.S. Embassy in that country in this regard.

### Akhromeyev Holds Washington News Conference

*LD0607231488 Moscow TASS in English 2253 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 7—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces and first deputy defence minister, and Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the USSR Joint Chiefs of Staff, exchanged letters on Wednesday and put into effect a plan of contacts between the two countries' armed forces for 1988-1990.

The plan provides for exchanges of visits by the military leaders, military delegations and ships of the two countries. Akhromeyev said at a news conference at the Pentagon that U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci would visit the Soviet Union in August and that the secretaries of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force, as well as chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of U.S. Armed Services, including Admiral Crowe, would visit it later.

Three commanders-in-chief of Soviet armed services will visit the United States.

The sides are also to exchange sports delegations, delegations of military historians and so on.

"We're going to get closely acquainted with each other," said Akhromeyev who arrived in the U.S. on an official visit Tuesday at the invitation of Admiral Crowe.

Crowe said at the news conference this was the first visit to the U.S. by a chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces since World War Two.

He said the visit, which he described as historic, was taking place at a period when dialogue between the two countries was broadening in many areas.

He said efforts by the Soviet and U.S. top military officers to search for ways to broaden channels of communication between the two countries' armed forces were to promote better understanding between the two nations.

Crowe expressed the hope that these efforts would make a contribution to the process of relaxing tensions in Soviet-U.S. relations.

This visit, he said, was one more important step in the two countries' joint efforts to lessen the threat of a conflict.

On Wednesday at the Pentagon, Akhromeyev and Crowe started talks attended also by chiefs of the general staffs of Soviet armed services and chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of U.S. armed services.

Marshal Akhromeyev informed Crowe and the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, at their request, about the work and results of the 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference.

The sides are exchanging views on issues of mutual interest for the Soviet and U.S. armed forces.

"We understand very well that all this has become possible as a result of improved Soviet-U.S. relations and the huge work done by our leaders—General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, and thanks to the meetings between our Defence Ministers Dmitriy Yazov and Frank Carlucci," Akhromeyev said.

### Yakubov on Background to Meese Resignation

*LD0707085488 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

U.S. mass media present as news No. one the reports on the upcoming resignation of U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese III. The reports appeared literally several hours following the conclusion without indictment of investigation into his conduct by independent counsel James McKay.

The attorney general's resignation has been expected for long. Supporters of George Bush, who is seeking presidential nomination, were looking forward to it with particular impatience. They believed that Meese' further stay in the office might have an unfavourable effect on the election campaign of the Republican Party. This is understandable.

The attention of the U.S. public has been repeatedly drawn to data filtering into the press on an investigation into the private financial affairs of Meese, his connections with the General Dynamics Corp, which had received lucrative orders for the construction of submarines, with the Wedtech Corp, which had sought military contracts, and his material interest in the outcome of the inquiry into the affairs of U.S. telephone companies.

Data on Meese' role in the construction of an oil pipeline in Iraq filtered into the press at the beginning of this year. It was reported that persons who press for the construction of an oil pipeline costing 1,000 million dollars, among them staff members of the National Security Council and Robert Wallach, a close friend of the attorney general, suggested making secret payments to Israel from the Pentagon budget to guarantee that Israel would not attack the oil pipeline.

The plan which is reported to have been worked out in 1985 was supported by Meese. At the same time the 'top law enforcement officer' secured administration support for the project. Meese, according to press reports, was rewarded for that. The 'fee' was immediately used by the financial agent of Meese and Wallach to buy shares at the stock market, and most lucrative of them wound up on the account of the attorney general. It was pointed out in the press that by the end of 1986 the shares brought in an additional profit of 45,000 dollars.

Such accusations levelled at the attorney general were naturally a blight on the reputation of the Republican Party. The U.S. press reports that at present the special counsel has concluded there is insufficient evidence to recommend criminal prosecution of the attorney general at this time. However, this does not mean at all that the case of the close friend of the President may be regarded as closed. There still remains the question of the ethical aspect of the attorney general's conduct.

It is known that eight high-ranking staff members, including the first deputy attorney general, resigned in protest at the fact that the country's Department of Justice is headed by a person who tarnished his reputation by questionable machinations. This is well known in the country and, it means, to the U.S. electorate. This is why the news of the forthcoming resignation of Meese has been regarded with a sense of satisfaction and not only in the circles of the Republican Party.

According to Democratic Senator Carl Levin, the forthcoming resignation of Meese is the best way out for the country, for the judicial system, and for the Department of Justice. Only he should have done so long ago.

### Correction to U.S. 'Shoot First' Policy

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Comment on Danger of U.S. 'Shoot First' Policy," published in the 6 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 13:

Column one, after sourceline, make read: "[Commentary by station political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

"[Text] Reports arriving from..." (adding editorial note denoting commentator).

## Near East & South Asia

### Iranian, Worldwide Responses to Downing Cited

#### Mourning at Iranian Embassy

*LD0607125888 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is in a mourning apparel today. A ceremony in memory of the Iranian citizens killed by an American missile has been held here.

One by one, diplomatic representatives, accredited in the USSR, bowed their heads to the mourning wreath and the black-lined flag of Iran. They made entries expressing condolences over the tragic event in the Persian Gulf sky. The visitors were met by Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran Naser Heirani-Nobari.

From the Soviet side the ceremony was attended by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

#### Vorontsov Signs Condolence Book

*LD0607110688 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today called at the Iranian Embassy in Moscow and signed the book of condolences opened in the embassy in connection with the death of the passengers and crew of the Iranian civilian aircraft that was shot down by the American Navy in the Persian Gulf area.

#### UN To Meet 12 Jul

*LD0607194388 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] New York July 6 TASS—Members of the U.N. Security Council held today consultations in connection with Iran's request for an early convening of this principal body of the international community. Mohammad Ja'far Mahalati, Iran acting chief delegate at the United Nations, said in his letter that Iran requests the Security Council to discuss at its meeting the question of the cruel murder by the U.S. Navy of 290 innocent civilians—passengers of "Iran-Air" airline.

During their consultations it was decided to convene a Security Council meeting on Tuesday, July 12. Paul Nogueira-Batista, Security Council President (Brazil) told newsmen that, at the request of the Iranian side, will be considered separately at the meeting, outside the context of the Iran-Iraqi conflict. The date of the meeting has also been set at Iran's request, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iran's foreign minister, is expected to take part.

#### Tehran Diplomat Views Incident

*PM0707105588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by S. Tatarinov, chief of the press section at the USSR Embassy in Iran, under the rubric: "Tragedy of Flight 655": "Shot While Climbing"]

[Excerpts] Tehran—In the years that I have worked in Tehran, I have had occasion to see many terrible pictures on the television—the country has been at war for almost 8 years now, and programs from the front are quite naturalistic. But what I saw on television yesterday was simply chilling. You cannot help turning away from the screen when reportage comes from the Persian Gulf about the rescue work or, more precisely, about the collection of the remains of the A-300 airbus, its passengers, and crew. [passage omitted]

"The U.S. attack on the Iranian aircraft," Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati stated in a message addressed to the UN secretary general, "is a gross violation of the norms of international conventions, especially the First and Second Chicago Conventions, and poses a great danger to the security of civil aircraft." Iran has demanded an international inquiry into the circumstances of the downing of the airbus.

The Iranian people have described the attack on the civil airliner as cold-blooded, premeditated mass murder. One can hardly fail to agree with this. The grief and indignation of ordinary Iranians is sincere and unfeigned.

Tehran Radio has repeatedly broadcast a summary of the TASS statement on the tragedy in the skies above the Persian Gulf and also an announcement of the condolences sent by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. People here react with understanding to the lines in the TASS statement to the effect that the "unprecedented buildup in the number of U.S warships and aircraft in this area has created and continues to create an explosive situation there."

I have in front of me an edition of KEYHAN. The first page shows photographs of the airbus crew. They are followed by the lists of the passengers who simply did not make it to their destination. They include the names of diplomats whom I have met in Tehran.

I can't help remembering how I have flown over the greenish waters of the Persian Gulf on official business. I remember that I was amazed then by how small the Gulf seemed from the air, how many U.S. and NATO warships are around there, and how many tragedies are played out on that narrow stretch of water when merchant ships blaze from missile strikes. I shivered involuntarily when I remembered that there was a war going on down below. I wanted the flight to end as soon as possible so that I could get off the aircraft.

But the danger is not only down below. Danger will also lie in wait for civil aircraft in the air while U.S. warships remain in the Persian Gulf.

And the flight number? I found by accident the ticket that I had kept. The last time I flew to Dubayy was on Flight 654, on an Iran Air A-300 airbus....

### Responses to Downing Reported

*PM0707102188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report under the general heading: "On the Tragedy in the Persian Gulf. Contradictions in the Pentagon's Version"]

[Text] The destruction of the Iranian passenger airliner remains at the center of the attention of the world's mass media.

Iran has asked for the UN Security Council to be urgently convened to discuss the tragedy that occurred in the Persian Gulf.

In a letter to the UN secretary general, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati called the U.S. Navy's destruction of the A-300 airbus a deliberate act of aggression. The U.S. actions, he pointed out, violate all international legal and humanitarian norms and pose a serious threat to civil aircraft flights in the region.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Parliament, who was recently appointed acting commander of the country's Armed Forces, urged his compatriots to remain "calm and cool," emphasizing that any hasty and rash acts of vengeance against the United States could only play into Washington's hands, because they would enable the White House to divert international public attention away from the U.S. "crime."

In Beirut (Lebanon) members of the militarized extremist pro-Iranian Hizballah organization have been holding mass demonstrations for the second day in a row, demanding swift vengeance for the lives of the passengers on the downed airliner. Local observers believe that it is this organization that has long been holding 18 hostages from West European countries and the United States. According to a REUTER report, an unknown person telephoned a Beirut radio station to warn of the possibility that one of the hostages might be killed in response to the "U.S. crimes."

UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar has issued a statement emphasizing that it is inadmissible to ignore the question of responsibility for what happened. This is necessary to ensure that such a tragedy is not repeated. He called for an independent investigation under UN auspices into the circumstances of the tragedy of Flight 655. The UN secretary general voiced the hope that the International Civil Aviation Organization will be able to tackle such an investigation.

Six high-ranking Pentagon officials headed by Admiral W. Fogarty, appointed by the leadership of the U.S. military department to investigate the incident, have arrived in Bahrain. News agencies point out that these inspectors have been given 15 days to conduct the investigation.

Trying to justify the actions of its Navy, the U.S. press continues to return to the incident with the South Korean aircraft which encroached on Soviet airspace. In this connection news agencies once again cite the arguments of the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman at a briefing, where it was stated that, unlike the South Korean aircraft which encroached deep into the USSR's airspace in a strategically important region in 1983, the Iranian airliner was only flying over its own territory and international waters. In addition, the South Korean Boeing was acting in conjunction with a U.S. spy-plane of comparable dimensions, while the Iranian airliner was alone in the airspace and there were no Iranian military aircraft over the Strait of Hormuz at that time.

IRNA reports that a representative of the flight director at Bandar 'Abbas airfield has confirmed once again that the airliner "was flying precisely in an international corridor."

The White House reported Tuesday that a few hours after the airliner's destruction, the United States sent Iran a telegram expressing "profound regret" and explaining that the Airbus was downed by mistake.

Japan's NHK television corporation points out: "Washington has expressed its regrets over the passengers' deaths but makes it firmly understood that it will continue its military presence in the Persian Gulf, including stationing cruisers there equipped with the Aegis missile system. At the same time, as the first steps of the investigation have shown, **the downed Iranian airliner was giving out automatic signals attesting that it was a civil aircraft**." [boldface as published]

### Iranian Envoy Cited

*LD0707101688 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—Iran's Ambassador to the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari has strongly declared for the withdrawal of U.S. naval ships from the Persian Gulf. Speaking in an interview with the Soviet NEW TIMES weekly of foreign policy analysis, he said that the presence of the U.S. ships has heightened tensions in the Gulf, involved an increase in the number of casualties, made navigation at sea and international air traffic unsafe.

The NEW TIMES also quotes the view of Vitaliy Bordunov, senior researcher of the Institute of State and Law of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

"The attempt of the USA at attributing the tragedy to a blunder is highly dubious," he said. "Since civilian planes fly along international air routes envisaged within the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) framework. These air corridors are well known to all, including the military. War planes do not fly through the above-said corridors in accordance with the rules. One cannot help drawing the conclusion that the decision to attack the airbus was taken deliberately."

"Who can help in turning the Persian Gulf into a zone of peace and cooperation? We believe that this can be done by the international community as represented by the U.S.," the weekly says in conclusion.

## Further Soviet Commentary on Iran Airbus Downing

### Needs Further Investigation

*LD0607134988 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] In a letter to the U.S. Congress over the shooting down by a missile from an American warship of an Iranian airliner President Reagan declared he regarded the incident closed. But as one reads statements by leaders in various countries and comments in the press one can't fail to draw the conclusion that this view of the U.S. President is not shared in the rest of the world practically by anyone. This is a point made by our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin, who goes on to write the following:

[Passage omitted] The obvious desire of official Washington to close the case as soon as possible varies sharply from the demands made by many countries and international organizations that a thorough investigation should be made and most resolute measures taken to rule out another such tragedy. Iran has put forward a well justified demand that the UN Security Council must have a meeting without delay to consider the attack on the U.S. Navy on the airliner. The International Civil Aviation Organization has voiced its deep outrage at the actions of the U.S. Navy and declared it is necessary to examine thoroughly the circumstances of this act of piracy.

It is notable that Pakistan, which usually supports the United States in every action, has urged the U.S. Administration to launch a full-scale investigation and to punish all the culprits of the tragedy, which has no justification. A comment by the ADN News Agency of the GDR underlines that the shooting down of the Iranian airliner by a missile from a U.S. warship is a horrible though legitimate [as heard] result of the escalation of the tensions in the Persian Gulf area by the United States. The Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan has called sacrilegious the attempts of the U.S. Administration to justify the tragedy by speaking about a need for defensive actions.

As we can see, Washington's efforts to compel the international community to reconcile itself to the crime are futile. In conclusion, I'd like to cite the American ABC TV network, which noted that the current administration would hardly be able to absolve itself of the burden of responsibility for the tragedy in the Persian Gulf.

### Comments Broadcast to Brazil

*PY0607172888 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2200 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] What calls my attention most is that everything seems to indicate that the United States does not intend to view with realism the plane downing incident and the confusions that arose from it.

After expressing condolences, President Ronald Reagan fully defended the military actions in the Persian Gulf.

The United States allegedly had well-founded reasons to believe that the Iranian plane was preparing to attack the crusier "USS Vincennes." President Reagan said that what happened was fully understandable.

I am sure it was a crime, a programmed crime. Washington has officially confirmed that the crusier commander acted according to the rules. The rules state that they must open fire anytime they suspect danger of an enemy attack.

Those who gave the orders and those who obeyed them did not mind whether is was a war plane or an airbus on a regular flight using common route.

I want to add that, given the high technical level of the electronic equipment of the U.S. warships, it is absolutely impossible to confuse these different kinds of airplanes.

I want to say that this crime is a direct consequence of the policy Washington is pursuing in the Persian Gulf: a policy of force and of the increase of tensions.

As stated in the TASS declaration, the USSR more than once has warned that military actions will not lead to the normalization of the situation. If these warnings had been taken into consideration, the 3 July incident would have not taken place.

The tragedy that took place once again demonstrates that the U.S. Navy warships must withdraw from the Persian Gulf waters. There are guarantees to preserve peace and security in the region by the UN naval forces on a new qualitative basis.

Unfortunately it must be stated that right now there is no evidence that Washington wishes to listen to reasons. On the contrary, Washington confirms again and again its invariable policy in the Persian Gulf. This means that new, similar tragedies are actually programmed.

### Comments to North America

*LD0507110188 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] On Sunday, the American cruiser "Vincennes" fired missiles at an Iranian airbus with 290 passengers on board. The plane was destroyed, with no survivors. The White House said it regretted the loss of life and that the attack was a case of mistaken identity. Our observer, Igor Pavlov, makes this comment. Here is what he writes:

I will refrain from charging the United States with premeditated manslaughter, something President Reagan did back in 1983 in connection with the shooting down of the South Korean Flight 007 after the plane's 2-and-1/2 hour intrusion into Soviet airspace, but what happened over the Strait of Hormuz on Sunday was bound to happen. Let us not be fooled by the explanations of Admiral Crowe and his version of the accident. It is the American military presence in the Gulf that is up for scrutiny. Did it prevent the escalation of hostilities as was promised? Has the massing of American naval vessels there prevented the wrong people from getting hurt?

The United States was looking for a fight. The White House has introduced new rules of engagement, giving its naval commanders much more latitude than before in deciding on the use of arms. The new rules of engagement have put the morale and the nerves of American sailors on edge. They are no longer policemen in a regional conflict, as the United States congress was led to believe, but direct participants in a full-fledged war. The destruction of the harmless Iranian aircraft may have profound long-term consequences for American policy in the Middle East, and not only there. The Iran-Iraq war and Israel's strongman tactics against the Palestinian uprising have fueled tensions to the point when many nations in the region feel exposed and threatened. As a result, they have come to arm themselves with such sophisticated weaponry as medium-range missiles.

Some experts believe that it is only a matter of time before, following Israel, some Arab nations may go nuclear. The incident in the Strait of Hormuz underscores the urgent need to bring the war between Iran and Iraq to a lasting settlement. The White House must review its current policies, both in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, to try to prevent much worse from happening.

### Aeroflot Pilot Condemns Action

*LD0607130888 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—"As a man I burn with indignation and as a pilot I sincerely experience a bewilderment over what happened over the Persian Gulf on July 3", said Igor Belyakov, pilot-instructor of Aeroflot's international routes. He was interviewed by TASS in conjuction with the tragic incident—the downing of the Iranian airliner with 298 passengers on board by a U.S. warship last Sunday.

"How could it happen that they aboard the cruiser, which is studded with electronic equipment, could not identify between a wide-bodied Airbus flying at a relatively small altitude in the clear morning sky and a two-seat fighter? What is the worth then of the Vincennes' computer system which, American specialists claim, can simultaneously track hundreds of planes in midair," Belyakov, a pilot who has a 35-year record of flying, wonders.

Igor Belyakov has just returned from a flight to Tokyo where he witnessed an extensive discussion of the air crash by specialists of the air company JAL. He said Japanese pilots call in question the American version of the incident and strongly condemn the culprits of the tragedy.

"Whatever the circumstances of the crash, the downing of the airliner is sequel to an unprecedented build-up of the U.S. military might in the Persian Gulf where numerous sea and air lanes are running. The Gulf is literally set boiling by the screws of combatant ships and small wonder that crews of civilian airliners try to avoid flights over the explosive region which is fraught with dangerous surprises. Common sense prompts that the situation in the Persian Gulf zone can be eased only by reducing military presence there rather than by boosting it. But in Washington they do not wish to admit it", the Soviet pilot stressed.

The merited pilot of the USSR expressed the hope that the tragic incident in the Persian Gulf would be the topic of discussion at competent international organisations, including in the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO).

### International Law Expert Cited

*LD0607225788 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—No plane in the area of the Persian Gulf is guaranteed safety of flights, and now everyone understands it, a leading Soviet expert in international air law told Soviet television today.

Dr Yuriy Maleyev (Law) said that the downing of an Iranian civilian plane by a U.S. cruiser was a grave violation of international law.

"Although there is no such notion as state terrorism in international law, the actions of the U.S. ship should be described exactly in this way," he said.

"No doubt, international law responsibility of the United States should be based on the principle of responsibility of state rather than responsibility of the crew of the cruiser which fired a missile at the Iranian plane."

Maleyev said that Aeroflot (Soviet airline) made regular flights in direct proximity to the incident area.

"This is why the incident affects the interests of our country and Aeroflot," he noted.

In this connection, Maleyev pointed out the need for considering a transfer of international air routes in the region out of the zone of military actions.

The Soviet expert said the incident should be investigated within the framework and under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organisation.

### Aviation Workers' Statement

*LD0707085788 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—"A tragedy in the skies over the Persian Gulf is a warning to the whole world. It showed once again that there can be no quiet wherever attempts are made to impose on peoples by the force of arms alien notions of freedom and democracy and privileged interests". This is said in a statement of the Central Committee of the USSR Union of Aviation Workers in connection with the shooting down of an Iranian airliner by a missile from a U.S. cruiser in the Persian Gulf. The statement ws published by the newspaper VODNIY TRANSPORT today.

On behalf of all workers of the civil aviation of the USSR, the Central Committee of the Union of Aviation Workers condemned the barbarous action staged by the USA in the Persian Gulf and urged the international community and branch trade union organisations: the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations (IFALPA), International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers Associations (IFATCA), Trade Unions International of Transport Workers and International Transport Workers' Federation to condemn the Pentagon's actions and take every necessary measure to ensure normal operation of international civil aviation.

## Indian President Holds Talks With Gromyko

### Arrives 6 Jul

*LD0607103288 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—President Ramaswamy Venkataraman of India arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR.

At the airport, the president and his wife were welcomed by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with his wife, and other officials.

### 'Friendly' Talks Detailed

*PM0707103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1,2*

[Text] On 6 July in the Kremlin, A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, held talks with Indian President Ramaswami Venkataraman.

Taking part in the talks were: on the Soviet side, P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; I.A. Rogachev, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs; E.L. Kuzmin, chief of the International Contacts Department of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.P. Parkhitko and V.I. Fedorov, assistants of the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and V.N. Rykov, ambassador of the USSR to India; on the Indian side, K.R. Narayanan, minister of state for science and technology of India; L.P. Shahi, minister of state for education and culture of India; K.P. Sankara Menon, first deputy foreign minister of India; M. Varadarajan, first deputy minister of culture of India; Yogesh Mohan Tiwari, chief of the East European Department of the Indian Foreign Ministry; Gopal Krishna Gandhi, senior advisor to the Indian president; and Triloki Nath Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

During the talks, topical questions on the international situation and Soviet-Indian relations were discussed in detail.

The Soviet and Indian sides singled out the proximity or coincidence of the two countries' positions on the funamental international problems. In this period which is of importance to mankind, the peacefulness which is organically inherent to the policy of the Soviet socialist state and the tradition of nonviolence, which has its roots in the many centuries of Indian culture, have, as it were, been fused into one. The Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World was an expressiion of this unity and a manifestation of the new political thinking. As the participants in the talks emphasized, the implementation of this universal manfesto of peacefulness would make it possible to make irreversible the process of disarmament that has begun, the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, and the creation of a new economic order.

The third special UN General Assembly session on disarmament has been a milestone on the difficult road to creation of a nuclear-free world. It has shown that the

recently ratified Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles enjoys unconditional world support, as does the idea of a 50-percent cut in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive weapons.

A.A. Gromyko briefed R. Venkataraman on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow in May 1988. It was noted that important accords were achieved at the meeting, in particular, regarding the need for a realistic approach to assessment of the international situation and world events. The Soviet-U.S. dialogue on all key problems of world politics and bilateral relations was continued and developed. But the chief result of the Moscow summit is that it was an important step on the road to real disarmament.

The Soviet Union will not turn from the road leading to the total elimination of nuclear weapons and the guarantee of international security.

The signing in Geneva of agreements on settlements of the situation surrounding Afghanistan was, in the opinion of both sides, a major achievement on the path toward reducing international tension. However, the implementation of the agreements is going far from as smoothly as one would wish. The participants in the talks expressed concern at Pakistan's support for the Afghan counterrevolution and at Islamabad's repeated and overt violations of the Geneva accords.

At the same time, as was noted at the talks, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are fulfilling in a precise way the provisions of the Geneva agreements which apply to them. This is evidenced by the Soviet troop withdrawal, which is being consistently implemented.

R. Venkataraman spoke about the situation in the South Asian region, and in Sri Lanka in particular, where Indian troops, at the request of the Sri Lankan Government, have been helping to achieve a settlement in the ethnic conflict.

A united standpoint was expressed concerning the peaceful settlement of all situations of conflict in various parts of the world.

A.A. Gromyko and R. Venkataraman unanimously agreed that regular personal contacts between the leaders of the USSR and India—two countries which make up one-fifth of humankind—are old and good traditions. Characteristic of the top-level dialogue are the mutual feeling of friendship and sympathy, total trust, and the striving to do everything possible in the name of strengthening universal peace. The meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi, which have become regular and which create a good foundation to take Soviet-Indian cooperation to an even higher level, were particularly singled out in this connection.

The national festivals—of India in the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union in India—have become a vivid demonstration of the sincere, warm feelings of the peoples of both countries toward each other, and this was particularly stressed at the talks. These cultural festivals go far beyond the boundaries of bilateral Soviet-Indian contacts. They have become a sort of example of the confirmation in the practice of international intercourse of the principles of the renewal of the contemporary world and the democratization of international life.

A.A. Gromyko expressed particular satisfaction at the fact that the head of the Indian state is taking part in the solemn final ceremony of the Festival of India in the Soviet Union, which has lasted for a year and has met with the most widespread and benevolent response in the hearts of all the Soviet people.

Questions of Soviet-Indian commercial cooperation were considered. Its mutually beneficial character on the basis of equal rights was stressed, and it was observed that it contains not a few positive elements of a new international economic order. This interaction facilitates the acceleration of the social and economic development of the Soviet Union, and the modernization of the Indian economy and successfully supplements the political contacts between the two countries. The Indian president noted in this connection that both countries want to increase trade-turnover by 2.5 times by the year 1992, and that he hoped this specific goal would be attained.

A.A. Gromyko stated that in the USSR, a process of grand restructuring—of fundamental transformations in the social and economic, political, cultural, and other spheres of Soviet society—is taking place. The 19th all-union party conference which took place recently spurred on this process. At it, practically all the key problems of the country were discussed, a socialist pluralism of views was revealed, and new ways, methods, and forms of work were mapped out which will ensure both the steadfast development of and the irreversibility of restructuring.

The conference decisions are of a truly revolutionary nature. The forum drew the attention of the whole world, strengthened even further the CPSU's prestige, and demonstrated the resolve to step up rates and improve forms of economic and public life in the interests of the country's all-round development, raise the prosperity of the Soviet people, and more effectively utilize the advantages of the socialist system.

The Indian side highly appraised the process of restructuring being implemented in the Soviet Union.

The Indian president raised a series of proposals directed at further expanding Indian-Soviet cultural cooperation.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness, which is inherent to the friendly spirit of Soviet-Indian relations.

### India To Acquire Soviet Combat Helicopter

*OW0607102688 Beijing XINHUA in English 0944 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] New Delhi, July 4 (XINHUA)—India is likely to acquire the MI-28 combat helicopter from the Soviet Union, it was reported here today.

Indian Army and Air Force test pilots have already flown this chopper in the Soviet Union. The exact number of MI-28s to be acquired is not known yet. The MI-28 will be used by the Indian Army for anti-tank and utility roles.

The MI-28 helicopter which is among the latest combat helicopters in the world was inducted into the Soviet defense services only 2 years ago. It was only recently that the Soviet Union admitted to the existence of the MI-28, a marked improvement on the MI-25 given to India in 1984.

Earlier, a brigadier of the Indian artillery had visited some European countries to try other combat and utility helicopters.

The Italian "Mangusta" and the Federal German "BO-105" are the two European helicopters which the Indian Army favors. However, India is opting for the Soviet MI-28 because the Soviet Union is willing to part with this advanced chopper at a lesser cost.

## Activities of Afghan Rebel Groups Reported

### 6 Jul Car Bomb Kills 7

*LD0607121588 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 6 TASS—Seven people were killed, another 26 wounded, 16 wholesale stores demolished and five cars burned when extremists blew up a vehicle loaded with 700 kilograms of explosives in one of Kabul's central markets in the early morning today.

In another development, a die-hard opposition group has bombarded the city of Gardeyz, capital of Paktia Province, killing two civilians, wounding a woman and two children and destroying 22 houses, BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The rival armed groups of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar and Burhanuddin Rabbani, in the meantime, maintain their strife. In another clash between them over robbed property in a suburb of the city of Feyzabad, four extremists were killed and ten others wounded.

A total of 200 former anti-government opposition members in Badakhshan Province have downed arms and declared support for the national reconciliation policy. Speaking at a rally, the commander of the group, 'Abdul Kuddus [name as received], said that it is senseless to fight one's own people and that national reconciliation is the only way to end the war.

### 7 Jul Car Bomb Kills 1

*LD0707134788 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 7 TASS—An explosion occurred in the centre of Kabul this afternoon again.

A TASS correspondent was told at the scene that unidentified persons had set off a large explosive charge planted in a car.

One person had been killed and several injured. A considerable damage had been inflicted upon the nearby buildings.

### Rebel Takeovers Denied

*LD0607132588 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 6 TASS—The Voice of America, BBC and other radio services maintained by Afghanistan's foes lately have reported regional centers, provicial capitals and other strategic populated localities in Afghanistan falling into the hands of the opposition one after another.

The USIA news service yesterday reported the seizure of Paghman, a city just two dozen kilometers from Kabul. It earlier claimed that the rebels had taken control over as many as 100 security posts and around 25 district centers in regions from which Soviet troops have been withdrawn.

A TASS correspondent was given the following explanation on this score at the General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces today:

Following the signature of the Geneva agreements the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Afghan Government have decided to move some of the military units in the vast area adjoining the Pakistani border and the border with Iran—from Barikowt in the east to Zulfiqar-Khan [name as received] in the west—out of there.

This has been done to make it easier for hundreds of thousands of refugees from Pakistan to return to the fatherland by roads and 99 convoy paths.

The Western mass media today are attempting to create the impression that these demilitarized zones are being taken over by armed opposition groups.

Such attempts are indeed being made—with the active assistance of Pakistani authorities sending gangs and large batches of arms, including heavy weapons, into Afghan territory contrary to the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords.

But Afghan garrisons and security posts and tribal units are issuing a befitting rebuff to the die-hard opposition.

As far as Paghman is concerned, government troops keep full control over the district center, although rebel groups armed with heavy weapons and escalating forays against guard outposts have been registered concentrating in the area lately.

Increased rebel activity has been noted also south of the capital where the important locality of Muhammad Agha on the Kabul-Gardyz highway has been under fire but has not been captured by the opposition either.

The General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces believes that the Pakistani encouraging of criminal activities by extremist opposition groups has already led to some four-fifths of the weapons having been moved from transhipment points in Pakistan to the territory of Afghanistan.

Islamabad is thus the main culprit to blame for the continuing bloodletting, with civilians in cities and villages being the latter's main victims.

### Rebels Blamed for Mines

*PM0507113188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Jul 88 First Edition p 5*

[V. Solovyev commentary: "Mine Terror. What Is Behind the Disinformation Campaign Unleashed in the West Around the Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] "During the years of war in Afghanistan, Soviet sappers alone have saved the lives of at least 19,000 ordinary Afghan people," Colonel M. Nefedov, a specialist from the contingent of the Soviet forces engineering service, testifies. "That is the number of antipersonnel mines laid by the rebels on highways, in and around villages, on the streets of towns and cities, and in administrative and residential buildings that have been discovered and defused."

However, this is the lowest possible estimate, an APN correspondent reports. It does not include almost 34,000 antitank mines and 4818 land mines also removed in Afghanistan by Soviet servicemen. These represent thousands more saved lives, tens of thousands of trucks, and hundreds of thousands of national economic items.

At the same time, the laying of 180,000 mines of various types brought into Afghanistan from Pakistan, the United States, Britain, Italy, and other allies of the armed opposition formations was foiled. These mines were confiscated during the inspection of the "caravans of terror," sent secretly into the country from abroad in violation of all international accords, and at opposition bases in the vicinity of major Afghan cities.

The total yield of all these devices discovered by the Soviet sappers is impressive and runs into figures by no means characteristic of "minor wars." The sum total yield of the mine war imposed by the opposition on its own people amounts to 1,700 tonnes.

It is beyond question that the prevailing mine situation in Afghanistan is causing anger and indignation among the population. By mining the roads along which national economic supplies are delivered to villages and cities and by mining buildings and whole districts, the opposition is trying to force local inhabitants to leave their houses and tended fields. Those who reject reconciliation are also mining important tracts of land and roads. The length of time that the mines have been in place makes mine-sweeping operations difficult. And the methods of mine-laying used by the extremists are outrageous (minelaying rules are not observed, no appropriate documents are compiled, minefields are not marked). The nature of this mine situation presents a serious threat not only to the civilian population and the refugees, but also to the extremists themselves.

The minefields which the Afghan and Soviet servicemen had to lay to protect key installations (these are always located in the sphere of vision or the radius of a guard post) are all known. All the necessary documentation is available, the outline of the minefields is marked, and, with the withdrawal of Soviet units from places of their permanent deployment, the minefield documentation will be handed over to the Afghan security organs.

The efforts of all kind of "radio voices" to sow disinformation among the broad public are futile. Fabrications are being spread claiming that Soviet and Afghan forces are stuffing the corpses of extremists with time-bombs which then explode during funerals, and so on and so forth. Neither Afghan nor Soviet forces have ever used booby traps. They have never laid mines in fields or orchards that are being tended or on roads. The dolls, pens, radios, and other goods in common use which have contained explosives all bore the same labels: made in the United States, Pakistan, Italy, Japan, and so forth; and, as was later established by the competent Afghan authorities, these booby traps were laid by the selfsame extremists who receive money handouts from abroad for spilling the blood of their compatriots and sowing death among them.

The position of the Afghan Armed Forces and our units in the mine war is open and understandable for anyone who is prepared to take a realistic look at the facts. The position of the armed opposition formations, on the other hand, is directed against the people, against the restoration of peaceful life, at terrorizing the Afghan population and at undermining the policy of national reconciliation. Hence the efforts to present black as

white, to draw a warped picture of the actual positions in the mine situation in Afghanistan, to discredit open, normal actions by the Government forces and the Soviet Army, and to shift responsibility from the extremists and themselves as the inspirers of the mine terror against the Afghan population and the chaos which they are trying to provoke in the country.

### Disputes Among 'Irreconcilables'

*LD3006160888 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 30 Jun 88*

[Text] Kabul June 30 TASS—A controversial situation is shaping in the camp of the so-called "irreconcilable opposition" in connection with the collapse of their hopes for a "speedy victory" over the government troops as predicted by the leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of Seven." Rank and file militants and their commanders in the field are particularly depressed by the failure of all attempts at capturing such populated localities as Qalat, the centre of Zabol Province, the town of Kowt-e 'Ashrou, the provincial center of Vardar, and the district town of Spin Buldak in Qandahar Province.

In his recent "guidelines" speech in Oru [name as received] populated locality near Quetta (Pakistani Baluchistan), Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanstan" (IPA) and the extremist opposition wing, advocated a buildup of military operations and promised a speedy fall of a whole number of populated localities controlled by the government troops. Yet such calls meet with opposition even from his supporters. Thus Mawlawi Obayd, head of the IPA department in Chamkani area, has refused to abide by Hikmatyar's order for the delivery of the weapons at his disposal to organize sorties in Kabul and said that the killing of peaceful civilians in cities is in conflict with Islamic ethics. He declared for going over to resolving the country's problems through political methods.

A similar stand has also been taken by the commanders of many armed opposition groups in Nangarhar province. Direct condemnation of the Peshawar "Seven" can be heard from commanders in the field. According to reports reaching here, Ayatollah Mohseni, one of the leaders of the group "Islamic Movement of Afghanistan" with the headquarters in Hazarehjat, said, according to reports reaching here, that he does not "recognize" the "transitional government" with Ahmad Shah at its head, which was set up in Pakistan. He bluntly declared that the claims of the "Alliance of Seven" to expressing, allegedly, the interests of the Afghan people are a blatant lie.

Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, commander of the elements in Panjsher, declared at a meeting of the chiefs of some groups operating in the country's north-western provinces, which was held in Kuran Monjan area in mid-June, for the release of all the Soviet prisoners-of-war and renunciation of combat operations against the Soviet troops in the course of their return home, which is urged by Hikmatyar and his supporters.

Apart from that, a sharp struggle is under way for control over certain zones, supply of foreign (?weapons) and financial handouts between the confronting elements of various "parties" and groups. Even according to calculations, which are far from being complete, [number indistinct] members of gangs were killed and more than 100 were wounded in Herat, Lowgar and Takhar Provinces in the course of armed clashes over the past 7-10 days. Konduz Province is an arena of fierce clashes, including tribal strife between IPA and the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan". Some were also killed and injured, the main cause of the mutual bloody strife being the differences over "collecting taxes", or to put it plainly, the plunder of the population by the rebels of one group in the zone of actions of the other. Nangarhar Province was a scene of literally fighting between rebels of the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan" and the "Front for the National Salvation of Afghanistan", as a result of which some 70 persons were killed and injured. A troubled situation has been also registered in many other provinces of the country.

Noteworthy in that connection is the statement by Abdul Haq, leader of an IPA element, responsible for the Kabul zone. He stressed, among other things, that the political leadership in Peshawar, is unable to put forward any alternative to the country's development plan, worthy of any attention. Albeit Hikmatyar, he said, has succeeded in keeping "the Seven" from total collapse, he has been recently increasingly losing his influence, while the commanders of opposition armed elements have considerably gained in the provinces as compared with the Peshawar "leaders".

The recently more frequent cases of former gangs going over to the government's side can be explained only by disappointment in the aims of the "holy war" proclaimed from Pakistan, the political unscrupulousness of its self-styled leaders. Reports on that have been published in the press almost daily. One of the most recent examples is the decision of some 1,000 fighting men of eight armed groups of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar and the group of Yunis Khalis of the group of the same name, who operated in the Sorhurd [name as received] area in Nangarhar Province to give up further struggle and join in the national reconciliation policy.

It goes without saying, that this situation is a source of concern for the "Alliance of Seven" whose representatives decided to send to Ghazni Province an "authoritative" commission reinforced with foreign advisors to settle the disputes between the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan", since they in Peshawar feel that armed clashes between

their elements may outgrow into large-scale combat operations. Life has been proof yet that such efforts, which were made also in the past, will hardly produce the desired results.

### Afghan Foreign Ministry Submits Further Protests

*LD0107185688 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 1 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 1 TASS—The Afghan Foreign Ministry handed over a 37th note to the U.N. observer group in Kabul. The note indicates concrete facts of violations by the Pakistani side of the provisions of the Geneva accords. The note requests that these violations be investigated and the results thereof be reported to the Afghan Government and to the personal representative of the U.N. secretary general.

### Ziaul Haq Remarks Condemned

*PM0407145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 88 First Edition p 5*

[Special correspondent B. Kotov dispatch under general headline: "Following the Course of Exporting War"]

[Text] Kabul, 3 Jul—Speaking in Islamabad to participants in an international conference held there on problems of stability and security in South Asia, President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan engaged in hostile and irresponsible attacks on Afghanistan and its people. This is said in a note by the Afghan Foreign Ministry handed over to representatives of the UN good offices mission.

The note emphasizes that Pakistan's leader does not intend to cease interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. He expressed in his speech hope for "the forthcoming overthrow of the Kabul regime by the mujahidin" and even voiced his desire to enter Kabul with them and make his prayers in the Afghan capital.

The Pakistani leader also spoke of the insurgents' intention to capture entire provinces of Afghanistan. It is well known, however, that not only have they not been overly successful in this but have actually suffered heavy losses in Zabol, Spin Buldak, the Kam region, and elsewhere. An Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the Republic's Armed Forces are ready to continue to respond as necessary to any military actions by the extremist opposition launched for the purpose of capturing various population centers.

On the whole, the Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out, Ziaul Haq's statements cannot be seen as anything but an irresponsible attitude toward international documents by the leader of a state which has signed them. This harms both his personal prestige and the situation in the region.

Attention was also drawn here to the fact that Ziaul Haq's anti-Afghan attacks were made while UN Assistant Secretary General Cordovez was in Islamabad as part of his recent tour of the region's countries to discuss progress in the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

### UN's Diego Cordovez Arrives in Pakistan

*LD0107231788 Moscow Tass in English 1100 GMT 1 Jul 88*

[Text] Islamabad July 1 Tass—Diego Cordovez, a special representative of the U.N. secretary general, has arrived in Islamabad from Tehran. He is on a shuttle mission to Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan to assist the sides involved in the Afghan problem, in solving it. He said that in Tehran he met with a group of Afghan refugees and leaders of the Afghan opposition alliance based there.

Touching upon the aims of his trip to the region, the special representative of the U.N. secretary general has said that the aim of his mission is to see how Geneva agreements are being fulfilled. Diego Cordovez has said that formation of a government of Afghanistan based on broad representation is a matter which the Afghan people should accomplish themselves. "We should help the Afghans in attaining this goal but we should not try to do that for them", he underlined.

### Pakistan Seeks To Delude UN Observer Mission

*LD0307123588 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 3 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 3 TASS—According to reports coming in here, on June 20 a unit of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan in the area of Chitral (Pakistan) received the following urgent telegram: "On June 21-22 a commission of U.N. observers will come to your regiment in Chitral. Take urgent measures to conceal securely all types of weapons and ammunition. Even empty shell crates should not be found in the regiment. It is a serious question. Be vigilant not to harm the party, taking into account coming military operations in Konarha Province in the area of the cities of Barikowt-Asadabad."

In this case the leaders of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan evidently acted at a hint by the Pakistani authorities seeking might and main to cover traces of blatant violations of the basic provisions of the Geneva accords. In fact these are futile attempts. The number of notes by the Afghan Foreign Ministry is edging on 40. They contain convincing facts of how the Zia administration tramples underfoot most articles of the Geneva package. The Pakistani press is full of materials describing such violations. Besides, pronouncements by leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of the Seven" show that they feel themselves very cozy under the wing of Pakistani and Western patrons. It will be no exaggeration to say that now the Pakistani authorities and extremist organizations under their patronage regard as their main political

task delusion of the U.N. goodwill mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which is vested with control over the obsrvance of Geneva understandings. Several tricks and ploys were worked out for this purpose.

For instance, before U.N. observers go to Afghan refugee camps, representatives of counter-revolutionary organizations are dispatched there. They specially select and prepare people for meetings and talks with U.N. obsevers.

Downright deception of U.N. observers is also practiced. The Pakistani authorities started using counter-revolutionaries knowing the Urdu language and clothed in uniforms of Pakistani tribal militia to ship weapons and ammunition to mutineers from depots in the city of Miram Shah in North Waziristan Agency (North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan). Islamabd does not prevent, as before, construction of new munitions depots for mutineers on the territory of tribes in the North-Western Frontier Province. However, most chiefs and religious authorities, for instance of the Shinwari tribe, said that they would fight against implementation of this construction.

"To placate" the Pakistani public protesting against the administration's unseemly actions and to create semblance of fulfilment of the Geneva agreements, the military authorities prohibited mutineers to transport weapons and ammunition during daytime. Shipments are made only in the evening and at night.

The list of these tricks is not limited to the above. It should be pointed out that the Pakistani leadership, despite world public opinion, is joining a dangerous game of exporting the bloody war to the territory of the neighbouring country. They will be held responsible for these actions sooner or later.

## Afghan Situation, Accords Observance Discussed

*LD3006090388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1705 GMT 29 Jun 88*

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Malekov]

[Text] [Malekov] If the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is, on the whole, a rousing satisfaction, then unfortunately this cannot be said about another document of paramount importance: the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. I recall that Comrade Gorbachev described these agreements in his speech at the party conference as an important international landmark in the cause of political settlement of regional conflicts, which are fraught with danger for the world as a whole and which hamper the progress of the peoples. According to press agency reports, Diego Cordovez, representative of the UN secretary general, told newsmen in Geneva that he is setting off for Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan for a more detailed discussion of the Geneva accords with the leaders of these countries.

I ask Vladimir Fadeyev, my colleague and commentator, to speak in greater detail about this and about the situation developing these days in and around Afghanistan.

[Fadeyev] There are two aspects to the situation inside Afghanistan. One is characterized by the steps undertaken by the government within the framework of the national reconciliation policy it is implementing. I recall that general elections to the parliament have been carried out in the country. This was done in keeping with the Constitution, and on the multiparty and coalition principles. The new government headed by Hasan Sharq has been established. BAKHTAR carries daily reports on the return to the homeland of more and more Afghan refugee families. Material and medical assistance is rendered to them, and conditions are being created for their normal life and work. Assemblies of elders and tribal leaders, which are adopting decisions on recognition of and support for the Geneva accords, are under way in various areas. The withdrawal of our troops continues as scheduled. Incidentally, Diego Cordovez noted just before departing Geneva that this process is going on well.

The other aspect of the situation is worrying and so far is not comforting. The Afghan Armed Forces have to wage military action against well-equipped rebel units every day, while the leaders of the Alliance of Seven are, it would appear, attempting to use the situation developing in a number of Afghan regions in connection with the withdrawal from there of Soviet troops to exert military pressure on the country's legitimate government.

Convoys with weapons and ammunition for bandit units are being sent urgently to the eastern provinces from Pakistan. The inhabitants of Kabul and other cities are experiencing almost daily consequences of missile attacks. Passenger buses are exploded by mines laid on the roads by extremists. It is natural that peaceful people are dying in these actions.

In their striving for even further escalation of the situation around Afghanistan and in the region as a whole, the Peshawar officials are attempting, as the Eastern proverb says, to overtake their own shadow. They have already set up the so-called Mujahidin transitional government. They are impatient to possess even a kind of an illusory power over the Afghan people. By this gesture, the imposters have only (?revealed) once more their personal mercenary plans. This so-called transitional government is already dreaming about international recognition and even has announced its plan to hold elections to the already so-called new Afghan Government.

What about Islamabad, one of the participants in the Geneva talks? After all, it put its signature on all the documents. I have said already that it does not impede the equipping and transfer from its territory of the convoys carrying weapons for the rebels. Moreover, it is in every possible way encouraging the activity of the Peshawar seven. Islamabad's military intelligence,

together with the U.S. CIA is actively inciting terrorist groups to armed provocations. Even the payment rates for criminal actions have been increased. The sending of foreign advisors to Afghanistan continues as before, and even has intensified. According to data of the Afghan Foreign Ministry, these include U.S. citizens, as well. Visits to Afghanistan by Western journalists also have become more frequent lately. True, they are finding access via the back door, together with detachments of irreconcilables. There is probably some kind of an advantage in these secret, thief-like penetrations into the country. One they have started paying more to a rebel, it is evident that the newsreel frames depicting his actions, in extreme conditions, shot so to speak, are assessed more expensively.

Incidentally, this symptom of the taste of money intensifying in a war in which Afghan kills Afghan now has been demonstrated in a special way by the opposition leaders, as well. Understanding that sooner or later the people will present them with a bill—and already it is reaching billions of Afghanis—for the enormous damage their actions have inflicted on the country's economy, the counterrevolutionaries practically have stated that our country should pay to restore an economy ruined by war.

The other day, this provocative idea was picked up by the Voice of America, which stated that our troops allegedly are leaving behind a ravaged Afghanistan. Well, this friendly Greek chorus of the propagandists from across the ocean with the irreconcilables in Peshawar is generally understandable. They want to use any means available to cheat and make fools of a certain section of the Afghan population so as to convince them to continue the so-called jihad against nonbelievers—in a word, to wreck the implementation of the Geneva accords.

## Pakistani Attitude to Afghan Accords Criticized

*PM0607112188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Article by M. Pushev: "Agreements Must Be Fulfilled. On the Legal Grounds for Settling the Afghan Problem"]

[Text] Pacta sunt servanda—"agreements should be observed"—states one of the main principles of international law, enshrined in the UN Charter and in the Vienna convention on international treaty law of 1969. All treaties concluded between states and corresponding to the principles and norms of international law should be observed—if they are not, international relations and the whole course of the world community's life is damaged. This particularly concerns treaties regulating states' behavior with a view to resolving major international problems.

The Afghan problem is undoubtedly one such problem. One of the most complex regional conflicts, whose impact has been felt far beyond the geographic region where it developed, emerged in and around Afghanistan. That was why the reaching of the Geneva accords, which created a legal basis for a settlement of the Afghanistan situation, was universally seen as an event of exceptional importance. And, naturally, it was supposed that, in traveling the long and hard road toward the accords, the parties to them—Afghanistan and Pakistan—would strictly adhere to their commitments, which they would be helped to do by the guarantors of the Geneva accords: the USSR and the United States.

Unfortunately, there have been frequent cases of states violating their treaty commitments. Practice shows that, as a rule, violations take place under the influence of prevailing political conditions: In the hope of obtaining unilateral advantages, certain politicians yield to the temptation to alter the balance of commitments and interests enshrined by the treaty, to distance themselves from the agreement, and to interpret it unilaterally to their own advantage. As a rule, no good comes of this. Such behavior by states attests to their attitude to international law—the agreed will of states—and casts doubt on the state's reliability as a partner.

It is more than 2 months since the Afghan-Pakistani bilateral agreement on the principles of mutual relations and, in particular, on noninterference and the rejection of intervention came into force. In this period the Afghan Government has sent the UN mission—the monitoring mechanism designed to promote fulfillment of the agreements by the sides—numerous notes, each of which points to nonfulfillment by Pakistan of its obligations under the agreement.

In confirmation of official reports, numerous news sources—primarily the Western press—attest to continuing large weapons shipments to the Afghan opposition via Pakistan and to the Pakistani authorities' strong influence on the activities of this opposition. The opposition headquarters and opposition military camps continue to operate on Pakistani territory, and convoys of trucks—including trucks belonging to the Pakistani Army—are carrying people and weapons from Pakistan into Afghanistan.

Under the bilateral agreement on the principles of mutual relations and, in particular, on noninterference and the renunciation of intervention, Pakistan has pledged: to ensure that its territory "is not used... to undermine the political, economic, or social stability of the other High Contracting Party" (Article II, Point 4); "to refrain from helping, encouraging, or supporting, either directly or indirectly, insurgent or separatist activity against the other high contracting party on whatever pretext, and from any other action aimed at undermining the unity or undermining or overthrowing the political order of the other high contracting party" (Article II, Point 7).

You only have to compare the content of the Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry's notes to the UN Mission and these factors to see clearly that the Pakistani side is not fulfilling the agreement. Is the military activity of the Afghan opposition, which, as it were, cannot stop constantly visiting the "hospitable" land of Pakistan to replenish its forces, not designed to overthrow the political system of the Republic of Afghanistan or undermine its political, economic, and social stability? Or are the Pakistani authorities blind to the truckloads of weapons and armed people, clearly not Pakistanis, which move around the country's territory, leave it, and return? Or do they not know why this is happening?

It would all seem quite clear—the armed groupings of the Afghan opposition are operating on a wide scale on and from Pakistani territory against the Afghan Government. Yet since the Geneva agreements went into force, all direct or indirect support for such activity—not only the granting of Pakistani military transport to the opposition for its shipment but also the authorities' inaction toward the groupings' activity—must cease.

To all the appeals for observance of the accords and fulfillment of commitments, the Pakistan side replies that the agreement is being observed strictly and unswervingly. But after such assurances have been reiterated several times, you cannot help asking: How in general terms does the Pakistani side understand its commitments under the Geneva agreements? Perhaps the opinion of the Pakistani leadership is that the commitments "on noninterference and the renunciation of intervention"—and that is what the key document of the accords is called—should be understood in some different way. But the Pakistani side's understanding is not the same as that of the Afghan side or the Soviet Union—a guarantor of the agreements? Such an approach to the agreements would be very strange, to put it mildly—after all, there were 6 whole years of talks during which to clarify how to understand the documents and finally the usual diplomatic channels for reaching agreement on everything. Furthermore, the Geneva agreements used formulations developed in international forums and included in authoritative UN documents, formulations which leave no room for a divergence of opinions on their meaning. In the UN sphere the matter of the Geneva talks was conducted by a highly qualified intermediary: D. Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative and an experienced diplomat and lawyer, who has an interest in ensuring that the sides understand one another correctly. Thus during the talks it was impossible for a situation to arise which would result in a deficient [neadekvatnaya] understanding of the agreements.

As for Pakistan's partners in the talks and the agreement, neither Afghanistan nor the Soviet Union as guarantor hid from Pakistan their understanding of the sides' commitments. Therefore, the suggestion of a different interpretation cannot be a satisfactory explanation of Pakistan's position.

Obviously, everything is far more simple here. There is no desire to halt the mechanism of supporting the war which has been operating for years. Nevertheless, interference must cease without delay. This is demanded by the commitments adopted on the Geneva agreements.

## Public Reaction Mixed to POW Amnesty

*LD0607114488 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] The Soviet media has recently been mentioning the figure 312 [word indistinct]. It stands for the number of servicemen listed as missing in action in Afghanistan during the period from the end of 1979 to May 1988. It is believed that about one-third of them have been killed. But for many of those who have survived, death probably looks more attractive than life. [passage omitted] Unable to stand the hardships of captivity, they commit actions damaging their home country. It is this category of prisoners of war that falls under the amnesty declared by the USSR general prosecutor.

A poll conducted by Radio Moscow correspondents has shown that there is a mixed reaction to the amnesty among Soviet people. (Leonid Levchenko), a construction worker: I think they can be pardoned. The boys are all young and inexperienced. They should be given a chance to return to society as (?useful) members. Thank God the Stalin years are over, when a Soviet serviceman was declared a traitor if he got into enemy hands alive.

(Yelena Vdogona), an economist: Every person should bear responsibility for his action, all the more so for his (?treason). It must not be allowed that they get off so easily with an amnesty.

(Yevgeniy Lishuk), an Army major: In my opinion the issue requires an individual approach. Everyone who was found guilty should be called to account. It is necessary to examine the circumstances of a person's captivity, and then to decide his future.

(Maksim Haykin), a worker: Whatever hardships a person has in his experience, he should be aware of being a citizen of his country. I think such people must not be pardoned. I've just completed my military service. True, I was not in Afghanistan, but I know that wherever a person is, he should fulfill his duty to the end. [passage omitted]

## Sukharev on POW's, Churbanov

*LD0407192688 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—Servicemen from the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who were taken prisoner will enjoy in full volume all the political, social and other rights of Soviet citizens envisaged by the USSR Constitution when they return home, USSR Prosecutor General [title as received] Aleksandr Sukharev stated today.

Answering questions of journalists at a briefing, he said that according to the information of the Defense Ministry, 312 Soviet servicemen were taken prisoner. About one third of them died. "Most of those who remain alive are now in Pakistan or are kept by the armed opposition. Several dozens of them are in the United States, a little

less than that are in Canada and only several of them are in Europe. According to the information coming from various sources, including foreign ones, the Soviet servicemen are tortured and humiliated. They are kept in fetters and are subjected to psychological pressure", Aleksandr Sukharev said.

He pointed out that the Soviet Union was using all the channels seeking to achieve the liberation of the Soviet servicemen and their return home.

Answering a concrete question about the fate of Nikolay Ryzhkov, a private, the USSR prosecutor general said that Ryzhkov had been convicted in 1985 not for being taken prisoner, but for high treason. Several days ago Ryzhkov was pardoned and relieved from serving his term on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with his personal application.

Sukharev said that all the cases that in accordance with the law are within the jurisdiction of the State Security Committee are under the supervision of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. The supervision is effective, all-out and comprehensive.

Sukharev said that Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy minister of the internal affairs of the USSR, was accused of bribe-taking and abuse of office. The investigation into the Churbanov case has been completed and the case has been referred to the court. Part of his former fellow workers who also abused office have been convicted already.

## More on Ministry Briefing

*PM0507112988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] With the commencement of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan, the question of the fate of Soviet servicemen in the hands of forces of the Afghan armed opposition has emerged with renewed intensity. This is mentioned in a statement by the USSR Procurator General, delivered at a 4 July USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center briefing by A.Ya. Sukharev.

According to Defense Ministry data, the USSR General Procurator said in answer to journalists' question, 312 people are considered missing. Approximately one-third of them are dead. Concerning the whereabouts of the approximately 200 servicemen who are still alive, he reported that the vast majority of them are in Pakistan or in the hands of the armed Afghan opposition, according to the available data. Several dozen servicemen are in the United States, a smaller number is in Canada, and several are in Europe.

USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate Spokesman G.I. Gerasimov, chairing the briefing, quoted data on the crimes of the Afghan armed opposition against civilians, intended to generate an atmosphere of terror in Afghanistan. In fact, he noted, they are not military actions but bombardments of civilian targets, as a result of which civilians are being killed and houses and national economic facilities are being destroyed.

We are compelled to state, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on, that Pakistan is violating the Geneva agreements by actively assisting the "Alliance of Seven" in moving new detachments of the armed opposition, arms, and ammunition to Afghan territory. Pakistani advisers are involved in making the convoys.

G.I Gerasimov commented on the announcement of the tragedy involving the Iranian passanger aircraft shot down over the Persian Gulf by a missile from a U.S. warship.

Rejecting the parallels suggested by Western journalists, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Iranian airliner had only flown over its own territory and international waters, in contrast to the South Korean aircraft in 1983, which intruded deep into USSR airspace in a strategically important region. Moreover, the South Korean Boeing was operating in tandem with a U.S. spy plane of comparable size, whereas the Iranian airliner was alone in the air and there were no Iranian military aircraft above the Strait of Hormuz at the time.

## Pakistani Red Crescent Denies MIA's Held

*PM0507124588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Unseemly Stance"]

[Text] Kabul, 4 Jul—Soviet people are deeply concerned about the fate of servicemen from the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops who have been captured by rebels.

The Soviet Red Cross has appealed to its Pakistani colleagues to provide information about the numbers and locations of captured Soviet citizens being held on Pakistani territory in order to arrange for their return home.

The Pakistani Red Crescent Society has reported that after detailed searches on Pakistani territory not a single Soviet prisoner has been found! Everything was made clear, whether intentionally or not, by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the right-wing "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," which is part of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven." According to an AFP report, he stated that the "mujahidin leaders are prepared to hold talks with Moscow regarding the Soviet servicemen held on Pakistani territory." It is hard to imagine what the Pakistani Red Crescent representatives could say to this. Most probably they would remain sheepishly silent.

### Afghan Government Wins Vote of Confidence

*LD0707090488 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 7 TASS—A concluding sitting of the first session of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan was held here today. During the session a new coalition government headed by Muhammad Hasan Sharq received the vote of confidence. Members of the two chambers adopted a number of laws dealing with the activities of the National Council.

The session was addressed today by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan. He expressed high appreciation of the work done by parliament and wished deputies of Wolosy Jirgah and senators success in promoting the interests of the people and in putting into practice the national reconciliation policy.

### Dobrynin on Palestinian Representation, State

*NC0307130488 (Clandestine) Voice of the People in Arabic to Lebanon 1030 GMT 3 Jul 88*

[Text] Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has affirmed his country's firm stand of support for world liberation movements and the Arab and Palestinian peoples. He indicated that the national reconciliation policy pursued in some states has several dimensions. This policy, however, does not at all affect the USSR's support for national liberation movements.

In answer to a question from the Voice of the People correspondent, Dobrynin said that the USSR firmly supports the Arab and Palestinian peoples. At the same time, it backs the idea of convening an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned. He stressed that this stand is firm and consistent.

On the question of who will represent the Palestinians at the conference, Dobrynin said: We approve of any Arab party on which the Arabs agree. However, we insist on the Palestinian people's right to establish an independent state of their own.

Dobrynin was speaking at a news conference in Moscow on the results of the 19th Congress of the CPSU. He stressed that this congress was an historic event and far more important than any other congress. He said that it reflected the sum total of the transformations that have occurred in the Soviet Union. He praised the democracy, openness, and criticism, which he said, did not spare anyone, including high-ranking officials.

Dobrynin emphasized that the most important outcome of the congress is that the people and the party as a whole will take part in implementing its resolutions.

### Envoy on U.S. Mideast Stance at Moscow Summit

*JN2806082088 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 28 Jun 88*

[By Faysal al-Shubul]

[Text] Amman—Soviet Ambassador in Amman Aleksandr Zinchuk has held the United States responsible for hampering efforts to reach an agreement on the Middle East crisis during the recent Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Moscow.

The ambassador pointed out that the USSR has proposed to the U.S. side to sit at the negotiating table to reach agreement on issues that were not agreed on regaridng the Middle East crisis, but the U.S. side rejected this proposal and stressed that it is not ready to go back on Shultz plan.

Zinchuk, who was speaking at a seminar on the new political thinking, Soviet-U.S. relations, and issues of disarmament in the Soviet foreign policy, also held the U.S. side responsible for not reaching agreement regarding the strategic offensive weapons because the United States insists on achieving strategic supremacy over the USSR. He pointed out that this is the crux of the problem between the two superpowers.

The Soviet ambassador expressed the belief that the more developed European states can play a major role in international and regional issues, including the Middle East issue. He said that West European states should keep away from the shadow of the United States and pay attention to regional and international issues.

## East Europe

### Shevardnadze, GDR Ambassador Discuss Ties

*PM0707110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Ties Strengthen"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has received G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, at his request. Questions linked with the further expansion and deepening of the friendly ties between the USSR and the GDR, including the economics field, were discussed during a talk. Different aspects of the cooperation between the two states' foreign ministries were also examined.

### Warsaw Meeting on Restructuring, Polish Renewal

*LD0607025788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2115 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jul (TASS)—A 2-day "roundtable" meeting, which began here today, is devoted to a search for the role and position of believers in the Soviet restructuring and Polish renewal processes. Taking part

in it are scientists from the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee and the Academy of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee, along with representatives of the Moscow patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church and members of the Catholic laity and clergy.

Opening the discussion, Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Union, emphasized that the meeting's terms of reference and timing have been determined by the forum of Soviet Communists which had ended in Moscow. Its main result consists in establishing firmly the processes of changes and humanization of public life, which coincides with Christian principles. Differences in convictions ought not to stand in the way of working together for the fatherland's benefit.

**Bulgarian Premier Lauds CPSU Conference Outcome**
*PM0607094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1*

["Our Interview" with Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers: "On a Leninist Scale"; date and place not given]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has just ended, is an event that naturally aroused great interest among the Communists and all the working people of Bulgaria. The conference has left a particularly strong impression on us in terms of its determination to deepen the restructuring of Soviet society and, under conditions of creative discussion, to search for bold, innovative decisions aiming for a qualitative renewal in all spheres of life. This was a conference on a Leninist scale, a conference of historic optimism and faith in the creative forces of socialism and of the entire people.

Through the problems formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's report, the decisions made, and its entire atmosphere overall, the conference will undoubtedly have a powerful revolutionizing influence on world socialism, lead to positive changes in international relations, and strengthen peace and security on the planet.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has once again shown that in their basic aims and directions the processes in the USSR and Bulgaria are fundamentally similar. I would like to stress that under the conditions of restructuring broad new opportunities are opening up for our fraternal countries to raise to a qualitatively new level all-round cooperation and rapprochement between Bulgaria and the USSR.

With all my heart, I wish the Soviet Communists success in implementing the historic plans of Lenin's party.

**Bank Agreements Signed With Yugoslav Firms**
*PM0507122988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Jul 88 p 3*

[TASS report: "Expanding Mutually Advantageous Cooperation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul—Another step forward has been taken in Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation. A cooperation agreement between the Yugoslav "Jugobanka" and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity was signed Friday in Belgrade. Under this agreement, the two countries's banks will provide financial backing for the development of direct production, scientific, and technical relations between Soviet and Yugoslav enterprises. It is also planned to stimulate initiatives for the creation of joint enterprises within the framework of corresponding agreements between the USSR and the SFRY.

A similar event took place in Sarajevo on the same Friday. An agreement on long-term cooperation between between "Energoinvest," an association for the production of electrical equipment, means of automation, and computer equipment, and the Kharkov "Ukrelektromash" Association was signed. Collaboration is being established in the production of the most modern types of electric motors used in machine tools, large processing centers, and industrial robots.

In this context, it is appropriate to mention Yugoslav enterprises which are already successfully working together with Soviet partners and thinking about expanding and strengthening the mutually advantageous ties. So, for instance, "Jugodent," Yugoslavia's biggest enterprise for the production of dentistry equipment in Novi Sad, has recently signed another contract for the delivery to the Soviet Union of 100 fully equipped dental surgeries to the value of $1 million. Delivery will be effected before the end of the year. This enterprise has, in cooperation with the Yugoslav "Univerzal" firm in Belgrade and the "Zlatarna" firm in Celje, equipped a dental polyclinic in Moscow.

**MSZMP's Grosz on Moscow Talks, Hungarian Life**
*PM0707075188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1,2*

[TASS report on 5 July Moscow news conference given by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and Hungarian Council of Ministers chairman: "Hope and Conviction"]

[Text] Prior to his departure from Moscow, K. Grosz met at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center with leading representatives of the Soviet mass media and Hungarian journalists.

Today, he said, I had a very interesting and rich—in terms of content—meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, which took place in an exceptionally amicable spirit. I briefed the general secretary on the situation in our country after

the national party conference and on the political circumstances and conditions in which we have now embarked on implementing its decisions. In turn, I had an opportunity to familiarize myself with the Soviet leader's opinion on the tremendous truly worldwide significance of the event which took place in Moscow last week and which confirmed to the whole world the historic significance of restructuring—that is, the 19th all-union party conference.

We held thorough consultations on questions of bilateral relations and discussed problems on which we are to work together in future years.

Speaking about the situation in Hungary, K. Grosz noted the present galvanizing of political life in the country. Hungarian working people are interested in questions of the economy, domestic policy, and party leadership of various spheres of life. They followed with great attention the work of the CPSU forum.

What characterizes our internal political life? Hope, conviction, and the desire to work to ensure that our hopes are justified. Our country's public thinks that the party conference held in our country in May created all the preconditions for resolving the tasks facing the country. Its aim was to adjust the economic policy line determined by the Third MSZMP Congress. Questions of improving political institutions and accelerating the process of democratization were also discussed. Moreover, decisions were also adopted on a number of cadre questions, but the most difficult things still lie ahead, the Hungarian leader stressed. We must accelerate the development of the economy, which has in recent years developed at too low a rate; for this the structure of production must be improved, the system of economic management modernized, and discipline and order introduced in the sphere of production relations. Of course, it is not enough here to proceed solely on the basis of the internal political situation. We need a calm and constructive international situation.

K. Grosz expressed confidence that the radical transformations which are taking place at present in the economy and in the political superstructure in the Soviet Union, Hungary, and other socialist countries will help to strengthen multifaceted cooperation and develop integration ties within CEMA.

## Briefs

### Television to Poland

Preparation of technical facilities to receive Soviet television via satellite has been completed in the Polish port of Szczecin. Residents of the town will be able to watch programs beginning in July. Szczecin is the second Polish city after Warsaw to get Soviet television via satellite. [Summary] [*LD0607015688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 5 Jul 88*]

## West Europe

### Portugal Cancels 'Star Wars' Treaty With U.S.

*LD0207144388 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 2 Jul 88*

[Text] Lisbon July 2 TASS—The Constitutional Tribunal of the Portuguese Republic has cancelled the treaty on building a U.S. space tracking station, which is part of the U.S. "Star Wars" programme, at Almodovar, Alentejo Province.

This decision was made on the basis of the request by the parliamentary group of the Portuguese Communist Party, which found in the Portuguese-U.S. document a number of gross violations contravening the law on concluding international treaties in the military field. For instance, the treaty was not ratified in the Assembly of the Republic (parliament) and, correspondingly, was not signed into law as is demanded by the country's own constitution.

### Talks With Norway on Kola Sulphur Emissions

*LD0107103288 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0800 GMT 1 Jul 88*

[Text] Norway and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations to reduce Soviet sulphur emissions. Norwegian Environment Minister Sissel Roenbeck has traveled to the Kola Peninsula in the Soviet Union to discuss the reduction of Soviet sulphur emissions according to an agreement between the countries on protecting the environment.

Norway, along with Finland, is concerned about the forests and lakes of Lapland, which are badly affected by the sulphur coming from the Kola Peninsula. The Soviet authorities have informed Finland that the sulphur emissions from the Kola Peninsula in 1985 amounted to 35,000 tonnes. The aim of the Soviet Union is to have the emissions reduced by half by 1993.

### Dobrynin Confers With Austrian Official

*LD2406133888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jun 88*

[Text] Comrade Dobrynin today received Klestil, secretary general of the Austrian Foreign Ministry, at the latter's request.

Topical issues concerning the situation in Europe and Soviet-Austrian relations were discussed in the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

### Presidium Congratulates Luxembourg Leader

*PM0207123188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 11*

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with Luxembourg's National Day, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a telegram of congratulations to Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg.

The telegram expresses the hope that the good relations which have traditionally existed between our countries will continue to serve as a useful element in the development of cooperation and strengthening of trust and stability on the European Continent.

In a reply message, Luxembourg's head of state expressed gratitude for the congratulations and wished the Soviet people prosperity.

### Tolstykh Receives UK Electricity Official

*LD2306230688 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 23 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology Boris Tolstykh today received here chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board of Great Britain, Lord Marshall.

Questions of the further widening of scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries in the area of generation of electricity were discussed.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Aircraft Downing in Nicaragua 'Not Accidental'

*LD0607140088 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] About the same time when an Iranian airliner was shot down over the Persian Gulf, a civilian aircraft hit the ground near (Quoipa) in Nicaragua. In both cases innocent people died. Was it an accidental coincidence? Mikhail Mayorov explains:

It was a coincidence but not accidental. Whether you agree or not, behind either tragedy there was the same policy of strength. In the Persian Gulf the U.S. Armed Forces themselves are responsible for the death of nearly 300 innocent civilians. In Nicaragua a Redeye missile was launched from the ground by contras trained, equipped, and guided by the American Administration. So both crimes carry the same trademark and were perpetrated in different parts of the world not accidentally. Wherever Washington builds up tension and tries to solve problems by military means, unprotected civilians, above all women and children, suffer.

So what is taking place in and around Nicaragua today? A report published by the Defense Ministry in Managua says the opposition armed units have stepped up their military actions over the last few days despite the pledge made by both sides to refrain from offensive operations. This blocks the continuation of the dialogue started between the Sandinists and the armed opposition, and a turn in this dangerous direction has been made in Washington where, after State Secretary Shultz' recent tour of Central American countries, allegations about a threat stemming from the Sandinists have been revived. Mr Shultz has not visited Nicaragua, but appropriate conclusions concerning that country have been made. American legislators have resumed calls for new aid, military assistance included, for the contras. As for the White House's favorites in Nicaragua, they have resorted to yet another series of terrorist acts, one of which is the downing of a civilian plane.

We always grieve over the death of people, all the more so women and children. What is shocking is that tragedies take place through the fault of those who cling to the policy of strength so stubbornly. But they forget that force has never been nor will it be an argument or a solution to any problems in world politics.

### Nicaraguan Defense Ministry Communique Cited

*LD0507110388 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] Managua July 5 TASS—Trying to frustrate the process of political settlement in Nicaragua and attainment of peace in the country, the Somozists continue to wage subversive and terroristic operations against the Republic. This is said in a communique released here on Monday by Nicaragua's Defense Ministry. Despite obligations to refrain from offensive operations contras conducted separate sorties against units of the Sandinist People's Army. As a result of the armed clashes, 87 counterrevolutionaries were killed and 30 others wounded. A hundred former contras voluntarily laid down arms and took advantage of the government's amnesty. At the same time nine civilians were killed at the hands of mercenaries, some 200 were kidnapped or are in mercenaries' camps on Honduran territory.

### Jamaican Trade Unionists Visit USSR

*PM0507122388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the AUCCTU's Invitation"]

[Text] A delegation from the National Workers' Union of Jamaica arrived 3 July on its first official visit to the USSR at the AUCCTU's invitation. The delegation's members will visit Moscow and Yaroslavl, see for themselves the work of Soviet trade union organizations at various structural levels, visit industrial enterprises and social and cultural facilities, have talks with AUCCTU representatives on ways to further develop bilateral ties, and meet trade union aktiv members and working people.

The representatives of the National Workers' Union will be briefed on the position and role of Soviet trade unions in the process of restructuring and on their tasks in the light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

## 19th CPSU Conference

### PRAVDA Editorial on Conference Resolutions

*PM0707104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Editorial: "Deepening Restructuring. Resolutions of the All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] We have been traveling the road of renewal for more than 3 years now, a road started by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. We have been working to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress. What kind of a time has this been for Soviet Communists, our people, and the entire country?

The answer to these fundamental questions was provided by the 19th all-union party conference. Its resolution "On the Progress in Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Deepening Restructuring," adopted on the basis of the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, states that the strategic course of the comprehensive and revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and the acceleration of its socioeconomic development is being steadily implemented.

Well, each of us can see for ourselves the correctness of the party's conclusions by comparing what existed in the past with what we have now. The country had slid into an economic and sociopolitical crisis; this has now been halted. People believed in restructuring, adopted it, and are advocating that it be deepened and that the revolutionary transformations be made irreversible.

A great deal has changed in our life. Democratization and glasnost have become firm parts of its ideological, political, and social atmosphere. The process of improving the country's economy and switching it toward satisfying people's urgent needs has started. New economic management methods are gaining ground. We recall that the USSR laws on state enterprise and the cooperative system, the transition of labor collectives to economic accountability [khozraschet], self-financing, contracts and leases, and individual labor activity have all recently appeared on the scene, substantially changing production relations and creating favorable conditions for effective economic management. The first results of the work that has been done are now noticeable. This work has made it possible to restore growth to working people's real incomes, and to renew foreign policy and make it more dynamic.

What has been done is just the beginning. We can all feel how difficult, complex, and contradictory the restructuring processes are, and how acute the confrontation between old and new. Although positive trends are evident, there has not been a fundamental breakthrough in economic, social, and cultural development. The braking mechanism has not yet been completely dismantled and replaced by an acceleration mechanism. The economy largely continues to move along extensive lines, and its structure remains largely expenditure oriented.

The conference noted that scientific and technical progress is being implemented only slowly and that the plans to increase national income and ensure resource saving are not being carried out. There has been no noticeable improvement in output quality. The country's financial position remains complex. This is all reflected (how could it not be!) on the shelves in our stores, in the state of the services sphere, and in the acute housing problem.

What are the reasons for this situation? Of course, the legacy of stagnation exerts a restraining influence on restructuring. That, however, is not the whole story. A great deal, the conference stated, is rooted in the shortcomings of the current work of party, state, and economic organs and social organizations. In various areas of society, including labor collectives, attitudes toward work have not changed. Conscientious fulfillment of obligations by everyone has still not become the norm. Many leaders are unwilling or unable to give up methods of administration by edict.

None of us can fail to notice the force with which the conference voiced the question of striving above all to substantially improve the country's food supply. This, the first resolution noted, is a major sociopolitical question. But it is being resolved in different ways in different places. Convincing examples were cited from the rostrum of neighboring regions with identical natural and economic conditions producing different results. Why, for instance, was it possible to improve food supplies to the population in Belgorod Oblast when this was not done in neighboring Kursk Oblast! Why have rural working people in Tselinograd Oblast increased supplies of meat, milk, and vegetables to the trading system, while this has not been done in North Kazakhstan and certain other neighboring oblasts!

The reasons are to be found in the differing approaches to the development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz potential. Now they must all switch to new economic management principles. This means that any attempts to issue commands to kolkhozes and sovkhozes should be stopped, urgent measures should be taken to improve the transportation, processing, storage, and sales of agricultural produce, and efficient use should be made of the funds allocated for retooling and building enterprises in these sectors. A great deal will have to be done to bring about the social restructuring of the countryside and to improve rural working and living conditions.

In order to accelerate the saturation of the market with different goods and services we will have to fundamentally retool light industry and other sectors producing

consumer goods. In the interests of the people, wider use should be made of local resources and the potential of the cooperative movement and individual labor activity.

The conference approved the measures taken to sharply increase the volume and pace of housing construction and improve its quality, with a view to fulfilling the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress: to provide an individual apartment or house for virtually every family by the year 2000. The unconditional implementation of the programs adopted on health care, environmental protection, and the improvement of the ecological situation in the country were recognized as important tasks.

The social reorientation of the economy should become the core of all structural and investment policy. It is also proposed to increase people's interest in the highest end results, preventing a situation in which people can get away with poor performance. A reform of price formation will be carried out after a nationwide discussion, revising wholesale, purchase, and retail prices. It has been decided to proceed firmly on the basis of the principle that a price change should not harm people's living standards.

Revolutionary restructuring is impossible without the comprehensive galvanization of society's intellectual and spiritual potential, without scientific and technical progress, without increasing the scientific and technical contribution of science and engineering cadres, without modern standards in the entire educational system, and without an increase in the people's general and political culture. The conference advocated the further democratization of science and culture. Fundamental importance was attached to stepping up restructuring's theoretical arsenal, renewing ideological work, and freeing it from routine, vacuity, and cliche.

Probably everyone who followed the conference's day-to-day work noted the considerable role of questions of youth education in the discussion. The adopted resolution calls for a consistent, accelerated implementation of the reform of secondary and higher education. The party sees young people as an active and enterprising force in restructuring, considers it necessary to have an integrated state policy with respect to the rising generation, and advocates the complete restoration of the Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol. The Komsomol bears a particular responsibility to all society for its work in the Pioneer movement, the initial school of civic life and morality.

Reform of the political system has been put on the agenda. This is a wide-ranging and meaningful concept. The demarcation of the functions of party and state organs and the rebirth of the authority of the soviets from top to bottom are of key importance. This is ultimately aimed, together with the reform of the judicial system and other institutions ensuring the regulation of relations between the state and citizens, at concluding the creation of a socialist legal state, in which the supreme principle will be the unconditional subordination of everything and everyone to the law. It is planned to periodically convene congresses of USSR people's deputies, to hold sessions of a bicameral Supreme Soviet on a regular basis, and to institute the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The conference has planned a renewal in the spirit of the restructuring of the activity of public organizations and associations, including trade union, Komsomol, women's and veterans' groups, and others.

The CPSU has undertaken the revolutionary initiative of restructuring. It has thus demonstrated yet again that it is the bearer of our programmatic goals and acts as the vanguard of the people. With the delineation of the functions of party and state organs, there should be a complete rebirth of the Leninist concept of the party as society's vanguard. Relying on Marxist-Leninist teaching, this ensures the theoretical elaboration of the most important questions of the country's development, works out the ideology of restructuring, and, through organizational work among the masses, inspiring and rousing them, moves our entire multinational society forward in the correct, socialist direction. The party carries out cadre policy and implements its political line via Communists working in state and economic organs, social organizations, and labor collectives. And, the conference stressed, the party operates within the framework of the Constitution and Soviet laws. The resolution states that the CPSU will never henceforth permit any repetition of anything similar to what happened in the periods of the personality cult and stagnation.

Approving the CPSU Central Committee's international activity based on new political thinking, the conference reaffirmed that only a political approach to resolving the contradictions of world development and the settlement of conflict situations opens up for the USSR the possibility of playing its predestined role in ensuring mankind's survival and further progress. The Soviet leadership's approach to the problem of removing the threat of war through frank and constructive dialogue and disarmament—which opened the way to the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and to a movement of the talks on nuclear, chemical, and conventional arms into the realm of practicalities—was deemed correct. The decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan on the basis of the Geneva accords is of great importance.

One of the provisions of the first resolution adopted by the conference is that foreign economic activity should make an increasing contribution to releasing the country's resources for peaceful building. Restructuring needs a foreign policy that fully reflects its humanist essence and offers the Soviet Union broad prospects of mutually advantageous cooperation and multifaceted democratic links with the surrounding world. The CPSU's course of invariable solidarity with the struggle of Communist and workers parties and all social forces for peace, social progress, freedom, and democracy has been reaffirmed.

Reflecting the will of the 20-million-strong army of Communists and the Soviet people's fundamental interests, the conference stated that the party will persistently and purposefully deepen the process of revolutionary restructuring, make it irreversible, and do everything to achieve its goals. A call was heard for party organizations, Communists, and nonparty people to join even more actively in the processes of society's renewal, processes which are of historic importance of the fate of the motherland. May everyone respond to that call with concrete deeds!

### PRAVDA Cited on Party Conference Results

*LD0607213988 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—"The success of a reform of the political system depends to a decisive extent on the work of the party. All its organisations and all Communists must participate most actively and creatively in the accomplishment of the new tasks", today's PRAVDA writes in its leading article which deals with the results of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

"The initiator and bearer of the reform, the CPSU in practice accomplishes the mission of political vanguard of the working class and all working people," the article points out. "It is of importance to realize to the full the Leninist concept of the leading role of the party. And this requires renunciation of the practice under which the party committees take over the functions which should be performed by state and economic bodies, and of the command-and-order methods of work."

The article points out that "one of key directions of democratisation of the party is to restore fully the Leninist principle of collective discussion and decision-making. It is inadmissible for the party apparatus to take over the functions which should be performed by elective bodies and to reduce the role of the Communists only to presence at meetings and to voting for lists of suggested candidates and draft resolutions prepared in advance. The character of meetings and plenary sessions should be changed, and their efficiency should be raised".

The conference, the newspaper emphasized, determined ways for a serious renewal of the personnel policy of the party under conditions of democratisation. "The formalist-nomenclatural approach to the selection and placement of personnel has become outdated", the article says.

The article recalls that there had been many arguments before the conference on a term of tenure in elective offices. The delegates, upon weighing all pros and cons, deemed it advisable to introduce the following rule: All members of the bureaus and secretaries of party committees, including members of the Political Bureau and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, may be elected to the same post for not more than two terms in succession. "This is a major guarantee against stagnation in the cadre corps", the article points out.

A reform of the political system, the article says, will require taking responsible party decisions and adopting major legislative acts, including the introduction of substantial changes to the constitution of the USSR, to the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, as well as to the rules of the CPSU.

"The reform," PRAVDA writes in conclusion, "should be of comprehensive, all-embracing nature. It should be effected in a coordinated way, in conjunction with restructuring of the economy and of the entire society, and without delay and in a short space of time."

### PDPA Plenum Greets Conference Delegates

*PM0507142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Undated "Appeal From the Participants in the PDPA Central Committee Plenum to the Delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference," signed by Afghan President Najibullah]

[Text] Dear Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee!

Dear Comrades!

The PDPA's 200,000 members, like the millions of fighters for social justice on all continents in the world, are following with interest the CPSU's titanic work toward a radical renewal of Soviet society. Starting out on the path of restructuring, Lenin's party has once again demonstrated its revolutionary essence, its indissoluble tie with the people, and its loyalty to communist ideals and historical responsibility for mankind's fate.

We, the revolutionaries and patriots of Afghanistan, are well aware of the enormous international services done by the CPSU and the Soviet people. The Afghan state was the first to which the young Land of the Soviets and the great Lenin, founder of the CPSU and the socialist state, stretched a hand of disinterested friendship and cooperation. The traditions of good-neighborliness were further developed during the years of difficult trials which were our lot during the April revolution and the undeclared war.

The international solidarity of the CPSU and the PDPA did not emerge in the halls of scientific conferences and international forums but in the very difficult circumstances of undeclared war.

Our correct understanding of the peculiarities of the Afghan revolution was formed not from books but on the basis of living experience, which was at times bitter. The precious alloy of combat community between the Afghan and Soviet soldiers was created in the crucible of harsh

trials. The internationalist Soviet people once again appeared before the world in all their greatness and nobility when they selflessly came to the assistance of their neighbor in trouble. The PDPA and the Afghan people bow their heads before the vivid memory of the sons of the Soviet Union who gave their lives for a free and independent Afghanistan.

We can feel the beneficial influence of restructuring in the USSR, of the CPSU's new approaches to questions of domestic and international politics, of the new political thinking. The renewal of our party's leadership at the 18th PDPA Central Committee Plenum contributed to the elaboration of the principle that it was the Afghan revolutionaries' international duty to create favorable conditions for the speedy return home of the Soviet internationalist soldiers. With profound understanding of its 10 years' experience, our party rejected dogmatic notions of ways to develop the revolutionary process in the country. The PDPA formulated and is persistently implementing the policy of national reconciliation based on practical experience accumulated in the years of the revolution, a critical analysis of the path we have followed, and an objective assessment of the internal political situation and of the international conditions of the struggle.

Now, as a result of the PDPA's innovative policy, the positions of the peace-loving and revolutionary forces have strengthened in the country, a bloc of democratic organizations has been formed, and a coalition government expressing the interests of the people's national unity, democracy, and social progress has been set up, taking into account national traditions.

The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan were an event of great historical significance. Their signing became possible due to the persistent, coordinated actions of the PDPA and CPSU leaders. These agreements made it possible to begin the systematic return home of the units of the limited contingent of Soviet forces, after successfully fulfilling their international mission in Afghanistan.

We, the participants in the PDPA plenum, examined thoroughly the results of the policy of national reconciliation over the past 18 months. We came to the conclusion that it is providing real, positive results and that there is no reasonable alternative in the present conditions. We made a detailed critical analysis of the military-political situation in the country since the units in the limited contingent of Soviet forces began to withdraw and return home. Despite the fact that the unreconciled opposition is continuing and even expanding the scale of its subversive actions against the Republic of Afghanistan, and despite the fact that Pakistan has still not even begun to observe the Geneva agreements, our Armed Forces and voluntary formations are demonstrating their ability to independently oppose the internal enemy groupings sent from abroad. The plenum stated that Afghanistan's Armed Forces have everything necessary to reliably defend peace and the people's democratic gains. A package of measures directed at further stepping up the Republic's military positions is defined in its decisions.

We, the plenum's participants, decisively state that:

Sparing no effort, we shall fight for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of a nonaligned and neutral Afghanistan;

We shall steadfastly pursue and deepen the course of national reconciliation;

We shall be true to the traditions of Afghan-Soviet friendship;

We shall maintain and strengthen PDPA unity as the apple of our eye;

We shall always be with the people.

We, the participants of the PDPA Central Committee Plenum, on behalf of all Afghanistan's revolutionaries and patriots, thank the CPSU, the Soviet people, and the party-state leadership of the Soviet Union for their good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation. We wish the CPSU every success on the path to strengthening the socialist system and we wish happiness and prosperity to the entire Soviet people. We believe that restructuring, under the CPSU's leadership, will be victorious and its results will have worldwide, historic significance.

Long live internationalism and revolutionary solidarity!

Unanimously approved by the participants in the PDPA Central Committee Plenum.

[Signed] Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan.

## Foreign Communist Parties Greet CPSU Forum

### Mongolian Central Committee

*WA1800046 1A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 88 First Edition p 11*

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of party members and all the workers of socialist Mongolia, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party sends to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet party members the warmest and most cordial greetings on the opening day of the

19th all-union party conference. The preparation for the conference, which truly became nationwide [vsenarodnyy] in character, indicates with a new force the firm determination of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union to follow irreversibly the strategic course worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress and elaborated by subsequent plenums of its Central Committee. This course is aimed at a revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of Soviet society and at an acceleration of the USSR's socioeconomic development. Mongolian party members and workers have been following with fixed attention and deep interest the growing dynamism and richness of the life and affairs of Lenin's Communist Party and the great people of the Soviet Union under the slogan "More Socialism, More Democracy."

The MPRP Central Committee believes firmly that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will take place in a spirit of Lenin's ideals of socialism and will strengthen the role of the party as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. The proceedings of the 19th CPSU Conference, which is called upon to summarize the experience of revolutionary restructuring and define the tasks in deepening it further, will undoubtedly have a large international impact, since the development of the theory and practice of building and improving socialism are of immense interest to the international communist and worker movement and to all peoples waging a struggle for democratization and social progress.

We are gratified to note that the truly fraternal relations of friendship and close cooperation between the MPRP and the CPSU and between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR, based on the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, have been progressing steadily to a qualitatively new level, and have served as an extremely important factor in accelerating the economic and social development, comprehensive renewal, and prosperity of People's Mongolia.

Mongolian party members and the workers of our country are now turning their gaze every day to the homeland of October, to the great party of Lenin, and are expressing their determination to strengthen still further the interaction of our fraternal parties and countries. They are aware of the common responsibility for the destiny and prestige of socialism, for establishing new political thinking in international politics on behalf of world peace and security in Asia and throughout the world, and to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and the survival of all humanity.

Strengthening the indissoluble union and brotherhood with the CPSU—the party of the entire Soviet people and the creator of revolutionary restructuring—will continue to be the pivotal direction of the MPRP's foreign political activity.

We sincerely wish you, dear comrades, great success in the work of the 19th all-union party conference and in solving the historical problems of building Communism.

[Signed] Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

## Vietnamese Central Committee

*WA1800046 1B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 88 First Edition p 11*

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow

Esteemed Comrades!

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the working class and people of the SRV, we send to the 19th all-union conference of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and personally to the party members, the working class, and the entire fraternal Soviet people the warmest greetings and wishes for success in the conference's work.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is an important political event in the life of party members and the people of the Soviet Union. The conference will give a new impetus to acceleration, the revolutionary process taking place in the Land of the Soviets in keeping with the course of the 27th CPSU Congress, whose objective is to take the building of socialism in the USSR to a new stage of development.

The Leninist course of foreign policy of the CPSU, which embodies new political thinking, has been manifested in peace initiatives; in programs for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000; in programs for creating an all-inclusive system of international security, peace, and cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region; and also in many other initiatives reflecting the USSR's high sense of responsibility for the fate of humanity.

Restructuring and the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy have been making an immense contribution to the developments taking place in international relations and are highly appreciated by the peoples of the world.

The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people regard highly and fully support the immense, persistent efforts of the CPSU and Soviet state in the struggle for peace and for international security on behalf of the high objectives of the age and the just interests of all peoples.

We are gratified to note the steady reinforcement and qualitatively new development of the indestructible friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV and between the Soviet Union and

Vietnam. This year's celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation marks a new stage in relations between our two countries.

In building and protecting its socialist homeland, the Vietnamese people has constantly received from the CPSU and the government and people of the Soviet Union strong support and immense and effective aid, extended out of a feeling of socialist internationalism.

Allow us to use this occasion to express the sincere and profound gratitude of the CPV and the working class and people of Vietnam to the CPSU and to the government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union for this valuable aid and support.

We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Soviet people triumphant performance of the large tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

We wish a successful conclusion of the 19th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[Signed] Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam

### Cambodia's Heng Samrin

*WA18000461C Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*1 Jul 88 First Edition p 11*

[Text] To the 19th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Esteemed Comrades!

The People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the entire Cambodian people warmly greet the delegates to the 19th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, sending you their best wishes.

We regard the holding of this forum of Soviet party members as an event of the greatest significance, one which will not only decide on the further intensive development of revolutionary processes in the political and economic life of the Soviet Union, but which will also have a profound effect on the course of the struggle of the peoples of other countries for the noble ideals of socialism.

We note with a sense of satisfaction that the Soviet people, inspired by Marxist-Leninist traditions and thanks to their creative talents, the progress of present-day science and technology, and the democratization of party life and the life of society, have already achieved important success in all areas after 3 years of the initial stage of restructuring. This success has come through a persistent and self-sacrificing struggle, including performance of the tasks of the 12th Five-Year Plan, thereby broadening still further the capabilities and potential of the socialist economy and steadily raising the level of prosperity of the Soviet people.

We highly regard and warmly greet the peace initiatives in foreign policy which have been advanced one after the other over the last 3 years by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Guided by the new political thinking in international affairs, whose objective is to guarantee humanity's survival, avert the threat of nuclear war, protect the independence and security of peoples, and promote detente in international relations, the Soviet Union has achieved notable success in following its honorable and just foreign policy course. The first step on that road was the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and an agreement is being prepared on a 50-percent reduction of offensive strategic weapons. All of this has been aimed at building a world free of nuclear weapons, free of war, and to further the progress and cooperation of states in accordance with the most treasured yearnings of the peoples of the entire earth.

Taking advantage of this occasion, we express our deep gratitude to the CPSU, the government of the USSR, and the fraternal Soviet people, for their vigorous support of the position of goodwill of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the search for ways to a political settlement and construction of an independent, peaceful, sovereign, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia.

We once again wish the Soviet people success, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in performing those immense tasks which will be set by the 19th all-union party conference toward the goal of guaranteeing the country's further progress along the road of democracy and socialism and strengthening its role as a reliable bulwark of peace and revolution throughout the world.

May the ties of fraternal friendship, solidarity, and cooperation become stronger between the CPSU and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea!

By order of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

[Signed] General Secretary Heng Samrin

### Portuguese CP's Message

*WA18000461D Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*1 Jul 88 First Edition p 11*

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and on behalf of Portuguese party members, we send the warmest and most fraternal greetings to you and to the delegates to the conference, party members, and the entire Soviet people.

Through restructuring, the CPSU and Soviet people are at the present time performing tasks which have immense revolutionary importance. Relying on the exceptional achievements of 70 years of Soviet power and by correcting the mistakes, shortcomings, and distortions that occurred in the past, the present transformations are called upon to guarantee that the new society, free of exploitation of man by man, rises to a qualitatively higher level of development, which will affirm and reveal more fully the advantages and potential of socialism in the interests of meeting material and spiritual needs.

Portuguese party members have been following with immense interest and attention the course of restructuring being carried out in the USSR and stand side by side with the CPSU and Soviet people in their activity, which is aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development; at deepening democracy in the life of the party, the state, and society; at stimulating the creative initiative of the masses; and at strengthening and improving socialism. In our view, the achievement of those goals is in the interest not only of the Soviet people. It is in the interest of all the forces which stand for social progress and peace throughout the world, and above all in the interests of the working class and the international Communist movement.

Portuguese party members highly esteem the policy of peace, disarmament, and international security and cooperation being vigorously pursued by the CPSU, which is firmly aimed at extricating humanity from the nuclear threat, at eliminating the exceedingly dangerous regional hotbeds of tension which imperialism has been inciting, and at respecting the right of peoples to freely choose the road for their own development. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, concluded between the USSR and the United States, and the prospects which have opened up for new, important steps on the road to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, are inseparably bound to the policy of peace that has been consistently conducted by the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The Soviet-American summit meeting recently held in Moscow, which guaranteed a continuation of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on the most complicated and urgent questions of disarmament and relaxation of international tension and peace, had immense political importance. It is obvious, however, that the most reactionary circles of imperialism have not given up their aspirations to social revenge and world domination, and that they have been trying to achieve military superiority; are continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of nations; are trying to export counterrevolution; have been unleashing the broadest and craftiest campaigns of ideological and political diversions against the USSR and the other socialist countries; have been striving to weaken the belief of the workers and peoples in the ideals of socialism; and have been striving to undermine the unity of the forces favoring social progress. Under the concrete conditions of Portugal, the Portuguese Communist Party has been waging a resolute struggle in both the political and ideological areas against the actions of reaction and imperialism, has rallied to the side of other communist parties and all forces for national and social liberation, and has invariably stood for strengthening unity and cooperation among them.

Dear Comrades,

In Portugal there have been new, strong developments in the struggle against the reactionary course of the government policy of the Social Democratic Party and in defense of the achievements of the April Revolution and the democratic system that has been set down in the Republic's constitution. Particular mention should be made of such events as the general strike held in March of this year, the large mass demonstrations on 25 April and 1 May, and the growing actions of the peasants, intelligentsia, employees, and other strata of the population. The Portuguese Communist Party has been taking extensive part in the democratic struggle of the Portuguese people and has played a determining role in it. Our party has at the same time been preparing for its 12th congress, which is to be held this December.

The revolutionary movement in Portugal is part of the worldwide process of liberating the workers and peoples, is having an impact on it, and at the same time is experiencing the influence of its development. We have always felt and still feel that the victories and achievements of the revolutionary and progressive forces, in particular those of the socialist countries, are a direct contribution to our own struggle. This is yet another motivation that guides us in wishing success and all the very best to the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the interests of socialism and peace, the Portuguese Communist Party, as in the past, will be striving for further development and strengthening of the fraternal friendship, cooperation, and solidarity that have united our two parties and become traditional.

Hail the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU!

Hail the friendship between the Portuguese Communist Party and the CPSU!

Hail proletarian internationalism!

Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party

## Roy Medvedev on CPSU Conference Results

*PM0507114288 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 3-4 Jul 88 p3*

[Interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given—first paragraph is LA REPUBBLICA introduction]

[Text] Moscow—"Now Stalin's country, with the government's absolute rule, is finished. Another USSR is being born but it remains entirely to be built." In his small room full of books and with open windows overlooking trees, Roy Medvedev is completing the final part of his long study of Soviet government, examining the transformation that the country will undergo under the impetus of the grand reform proposed by Gorbachev and approved by the party conference. Medvedev was not a delegate—in an assembly in which the apparatus, bureaucratic loyalty, and obedience to the old rules prevailed, perhaps for the last time—but he has studied all the conference documents, assessed the resistance and contradictions, spoken with its protagonists, and compared Gorbachev's plans with those that have so often proved abortive and that lie in the graveyard of Soviet reforms. "My opinion is that Gorbachev was victorious, but he had to reach a compromise with Ligachev. The reform bears the mark of this compromise and the duel between reformists and conservatives will continue at least until the next congress."

[Mauro] Roy Aleksandrovich, in your opinion does Gorbachev's institutional reform turn a page in the USSR's history or not?

[Medvedev] It could do so because the intentions and blueprint are those of a second revolution. It has not done so yet, however: Something happened to prevent it.

[Mauro] What?

[Medvedev] It is as though Gorbachev, under pressure from the party apparatus, amended his ideas at the last moment, revising the blueprint that he had in mind. Something happened on the very eve of the conference: A definite compromise, which introduced into the reform something that was not embodied in the Theses.

[Mauro] Are you saying that a preemptive revolt by the party changed the character of the reform even before it was submitted to the conference?

[Medvedev] I am saying that the reform's entire conceptual approach is revolutionary: Every region will have a plenipotentiary soviet, the party apparatus will be reduced, the CPSU committees' functions will be restricted, and all state and economic bodies will be answerable to the soviet. This is a real change which marks a break with the past, with the era of the party as master, and outlines a new kind of state. When we move from the theoretical approach to the project's practical construction, however, things change.

[Mauro] Because the party will not relinquish its power?

[Medvedev] Yes. Quite unexpectedly, the proposal emerges that the local party leader be appointed chairman of the soviet. So the rayon soviet will be headed by the local communist secretary, as will the regional and republican soviets, entailing the party's total involvement through the CPSU general secretary, who will become chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Mauro] Do you oppose this hypothesis of Gorbachev's being given the presidency?

[Medvedev] This is perhaps the only acceptable point—the only sensible link in an incomprehensible chain. I can understand that the general secretary should become the country's president: He is head of the leading party and therefore it is he who must lead the state. However, I cannot understand why this duplication should occur at a local level too throughout the USSR.

[Mauro] In your opinion, does this mean that the reform will not succeed in separating the party from the state, as the reformists have urged?

[Medvedev] I really do not believe so. This is why I say that the new state depicted in the abstract by the reform is still entirely to be built. However, if the party committee first secretary is also chairman of the local soviet there cannot be any separation of responsibilities. The danger is that the party organization will still remain the strongest and dominant body. Throughout the world if someone owns a shoe factory and at the same time runs a retail outlet he will certainly sell the shoes he has manufactured. Have I explained myself?

[Mauro] Do you mean that the reformed soviet will continue to sell party shoes?

[Medvedev] This is indeed the danger. Partly because local party leaders' personal power is hugely increased by the reform. The CPSU first secretary was already in all cases the absolute master of his region, but at least there was some debate with the chairman of the soviet, who belonged to a different organization, to whom he was to some extent answerable. Now the two roles will be played by a single person. This has never happened before in our history.

[Mauro] Past attempts under Khrushchev and Kosygin to separate party and state always failed. Why?

[Medvedev] Khrushchev did not practice what he preached: He closed down ministries and created sectorial departments within the party so that the party could make decisions formerly made by the ministries. Kosygin tried to eliminate those departments as an unnecessary duplication. Brezhnev always refused to do so, however, establishing the method of parallel decisions that is typical of our system and actually concentrates all the important decisions in the party's hands. Now many

people are expecting a return to Lenin, with all the power restored to the soviets. Instead, however, the soviets will have half the power, perhaps even less.

[Mauro] Why this half-choice?

[Medvedev] Perhaps the apparatus became frightened, realizing that it would have to yield the real power; it was afraid that the soviets would grow too large and tried to maintain control. Gorbachev had to accept a compromise, but he is well aware that in practical management this hybrid can only survive at the top level. I have no doubt that Gorbachev will soon become president and that his dual posts will be enshrined in the constitution. The dual post cannot survive at the local level, however.

[Mauro] So in your opinion this reform is just a first step. To restore the soviets' lost authority it is taken from where it now lies, that is, within the party. You say that things must change. Meanwhile, however, the apparatus seems satisfied and did not complain at the conference. Who as wrong about the reform—the conservatives or reformists?

[Medvedev] I must say that the apparatus really has no reason to complain at the moment. It faced a serious danger of having to return to political action, of which it is incapable. For the moment it has escaped this danger.

[Mauro] However, the conference showed for the first time a general secretary publicly asking the CPSU to reduce its own role and yield part of its power to the state. What effect will this have on the party's excessive power?

[Medvedev] It will show those who are still in any doubt that Gorbachev is not Brezhnev. The latter could not reduce the apparatus because he was a bureaucrat and by divorcing himself from the apparatus he would have divorced himself from any chance of influencing the country. Gorbachev has realized that he can lead the USSR even without the party bureaucrats. Albeit without being able to say so, he is creating a new theory of socialism. Officially he continues to cite Lenin but we all know that that Leninism is 70 years old and must be given an entirely new image, which is something the apparatus certainly cannot do.

[Mauro] In his speech Ligachev defended the party's role and the apparatus' function: How are these two lines within the leadership reconciled?

[Medvedev] On his own Ligachev represents the union of the old and the new. He is opposed to corruption, alcoholism, and parasitism. However, he believes in order imposed by the party by dint of declarations and wants to keep the country under the CPSU's close control—especially the press and television, which he believes should broadcast only political programs. It is clear that many conservatives and the entire apparatus have a natural defender in him.

[Mauro] But Ligachev is not only defending but also attacking in the name of the apparatus and the party's primacy: What is the significance of the reference in his speech to the role performed by the old guard in Gorbachev's election?

[Medvedev] It was a subtle warning. The old team that supported Gorbachev without ever accepting glasnost and democratization feel that there are new people around the secretary who are moving more quickly. People such as Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Gromyko, and PRAVDA Editor Afanasev are aware of the danger and are issuing the following clear warning: It was we who brought you here; do not forget why you are where you are.

[Mauro] Can Gorbachev still be stopped, following the conference?

[Medvedev] He was victorious because he showed the conference that he is a leader. It is clear now that the party has a leader and that the leader is Gorbachev, not Ligachev. Nevertheless, despite this most important result, it is still possible to stop him and to stop democratization. The possibility is decreasing but still exists. Let us not forget that the great majority of the Politburo were silent at the conference.

[Mauro] So will the conflict between reformists and conservatives continue even after the conference?

[Medvedev] There are all the signs that it will. There was no real "break" or settling of scores. A change of cadres, major changes in the composition of the Central Committee, were expected. Evidently a compromise had already been reached at the top, however. The duel will continue, probably until the next congress.

[Mauro] In your opinion is Ligachev still the Kremlin's number two?

[Medvedev] Officially, yes. In practice the number two is the man who defines the ideological line, handles the press, and supervises overall foreign policy, which is now Aleksandr Yakovlev.

[Mauro] Roy Aleksandrovich, if you had been a delegate would you have voted for or abstained on the reform?

[Medvedev] I would have abstained.

[Mauro] Would you vote for Gorbachev as president?

[Medvedev] I would vote for him. First, however, I would ask one thing: Who are the other candidates?

## Oganov on 'Comradely Amicability' at Conference

*PM0707073188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 1*

[Grigoriy Oganov "Political Observer's Remarks": "The Conference Is Over. The Conference Goes on..."]

[Excerpts] The 4 days during which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was at work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow will go down in the history of Lenin's party and of our entire country: This is the unanimous opinion and profound belief of Soviet people. [passage omitted]

The conference, the actual course of its work, and mainly its results did not diasppoint our expectations, even though quite a few most sincere doubts and sly conjectures were voiced on this account, and not just by our opponents or ill-wishers.

Today we know that many of the prophecies about the fate of the conference which were lavishly disseminated by the right-wing press in the West did not materialize. For example, there were vain predictions that the conference would hardly manage to discuss in full all the most important questions raised in the CPSU Central Committee Theses and ardently discussed in the world. Many inveterate Sovietologists, from among those who have been forecasting for years but have never won any prizes, got carried away by the hopeless task of engaging in guesswork as to how far glasnost would get at the conference. They even asserted that if B.N. Yeltsin were to ask for the floor to deliver a speech, first, this would not be announced and, second, he would simply not be allowed to speak.

The exact opposite happened in reality. [passage omitted]

A guarantee of success in the tremendously large and important work that lies ahead is provided by the spirit of lofty demandingness, businesslike attitude, and sharp, impartial, and principled presentation of issues; this spirit was displayed during the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. What is exceptionally important is that it was invariably accompanied by comradely amicability, full equality among delegates, and free expression of opinions.

An example of this, I would even say a graphic lesson in the principledness, equality, and democracy typical of our society, was provided by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Lessons in this are still badly needed. How many times did M.S. Gorbachev call for patience, for ability to hear out an opponent-comrade and to grasp his arguments, even though they might seem mistaken? We hope that these lessons have not been wasted. They certainly helped to assert full democratism and genuine amicability inside the party, and ultimately the skill to work with people and to acquire a lofty political culture in line with the spirit of the time. Alas, many people still lack it to this day. [passage omitted]

## Dashichev Approves Conference 'Leninist Spirit'

*AU0607170788 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 2 Jul 88 p 3*

["Telephone" interview with Professor Doctor of Historical Sciences Vyacheslav Dashichev in Moscow by Vasil V. Zakhariev: "In a Leninist Spirit, Along the Leninst Path"; date not given]

[Text] We asked Professor Vyacheslav Dashichev, doctor of historical sciences, a distinguished Soviet scholar and head of the International Relations department at the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute with the USSR Academy of Sciences, to comment on the proceedings at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference over the telephone. This is what he said:

[Dashichev] Mikhail Gorbachev's report, as well as the entire proceedings of the conference represent, first of all, a great step forward along the path of developing restructuring and our progress toward a qualitatively new socialism.

The second, characteristic feature of the conference is the return to the Leninist spirit. Never, since Lenin's time, has there been a party forum of this kind, in our country. Never has there been such an open, creative, and polemic discussion on questions pertaining to our development. Let us, for example, take the statement of Academician Abalkin. He expressed his disagreement with a number of postulates contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's report, but we have to consider this fact as a positive phenomenon. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his report that there should be a pluralism of opinions and various methods for solving one problem or another. However, among the numerous varieties of methods, the most correct one should be selected, the one which is in conformity with our needs.

The third factor which impressed me was the proposal for the fundamental democratization of our political system. In our country, man was for a long time not only alienated from the production means, but also from the political administration. The reform is now involving all Soviet citizens in the direct administration of society—in economic management, as well as in the political, intellectual, and cultural sphere. I consider this a tremendous success of the conference. We are now clearing all obstacles which prevented us from the democratization of our economy. Decentralization of economic management, however, is impossible without democracy. We are now complementing decentralization of economic management with fundamental political reforms, with reforms in our political system. The party's leading role is preserved, but its functions are fundamentally changing. It is assuming the role of a political vanguard of society. The party functions are being separated from the administrative, legislative, and juridical functions. In my opinion, a strictly organized concept has been created, a concept of new quality the most important features of which are the democratization of our system,

which is also becoming more humane and more effective from the social viewpoint. As to social effectiveness, I mean the concept in a broad sense of this term, which means to create the best conditions for the self-implementation of the individual in all spheres of activities.

[Zakhariev] Can you describe the link between restructuring and democratization in international relations?

[Dashichev] Naturally, the questions of our domestic development are the focus of attention at the conference; nevertheless, many interesting things were mentioned during the sessions about our foreign policy. Restructuring has produced great practical results in this respect. The principle that universal human values should be more highly evaluated than class, ideological, state, and national interests, in order to rescue human civilization from the nuclear disaster, was proclaimed. A concept of universal security and the principle of defensive sufficiency, or of non-aggressive defense were announced; the concept of every nation's freedom to select its own path of development was adopted. All this is part of the new thinking and a result of the specific influence which restructuring has so far exerted upon our foreign policy.

[Zakhariev] Do you disagree with any views contained in the report, or with some opinions expressed during the debates?

[Dashichev] An issue for discussion cropped up in connection with the proposal to combine the post of secretary of the party committee and chairman of the Council of People's Deputies. In this connection, there is a certain lack of logic, in my opinion, pertaining to the fact that this would exclude the separation of party from legislative functions. However, on the other hand, I am in favor of merging the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee with that of Supreme Soviet chairman, because the general secretary should represent our state, since the Communist Party is the vanguard of our society. On the other hand, naturally, the head of state, and not the general secretary, should sign all international documents. This is why, the party functions should be merged with those of the Supreme Soviet chairman. However, on a rayon, city, and oblast level, I consider the merging of party and elective functions as inappropriate.

[Zakhariev] How would you describe the most important guarantees for the irreversible nature of restructuring?

[Dashichev] In my opinion, the chief guarantee is the further development of glasnost, and this also applies to the elective principle and to the principle of removability. Elections should offer the choice between several candidates, so that the best and most talented people, the people of greatest moral integrity, people who are loyal to socialism may be elected, while removability should be practiced at all levels, from the secretary of the rayon committee to the general secretary. I would also like to add the importance of implementing the idea of the state based on law. All activities should be strictly based on law, and all people should be equal before the law: They should all observe the law. The establishment of a state based on law is a new element in the further development of socialism. Only under the condition that these requirements will be observed can we be confident that the guarantees of restructuring will be reliable.

## Solovyev at Smolnyy Meeting Describes Conference

*LD0507230988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 5 Jul 88*

[Text] One of the main events of the day was the meeting in the Smolnyy between the delegates to the All-Union CPSU Conference and journalists. They spoke of the contribution they will make to accelerating the process of restructuring and to fulfilling the conference's decisions.

Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Obkom, described the results of the party forum and the tasks the Leningrad City and Leningrad Oblast Communists have to tackle.

## KGB Discussion of CPSU Theses Described

*PM0107180988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 2-8 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 30 Jun 88) p 4*

[Unattributed report: "The USSR KGB Reports"—first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] Readers are interested in the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference in the USSR state security organs.

We publish a report on this question.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference proceeded in an atmosphere of high activeness in the USSR KGB party organizations. Approving this most important document of our party, the Chekists share the opinion that its contents are in line with the expectations and mood of Soviet people, and they decisively support the ideas of radical reform of the economy and the political system, of completing the creation of a socialist state based on the rule of law, of the restructuring of foreign policy.

The discussion of the Theses was closely related to the tasks facing the KGB subdivisions and party organizations. Many expressed the opinion that it is necessary to more fully define the role and position of state security organs in the period of revolutionary restructuring, democratization, and glasnost in Soviet society, and various aspects of their collaboration with other law enforcement organs.

The activity of state security organs, implemented under the guidance of, and monitoring by, the party within the framework of socialist legality, must reliably serve the revolutionary restructuring of our society and must contribute toward the development of democracy and the economic and social transformations taking place in the country.

Proposals were expressed that the conference should examine the question of the expediency of elaborating a statewide program for guaranteeing the security of our state and society in the changed historical conditions, taking into account the interlinkage of political, military, economic, scientific, technical, social, and cultural aspects. The elaboration of a Law on State Security must be speeded up.

An idea expressed during the discussion of the Theses concerned the need to enhance glasnost in the activity of state security organs, provide wider press coverage of questions concerning the restructuring of their activity, and strengthening the KGB organs' ties with the masses as a further development of the best Cheka traditions. Proposals were submitted to the effect that legislative acts affecting Soviet citizens' rights in the interest of guaranteeing state security should be made public [nosili otkrytyy kharakter].

The speakers said that the guaranteeing of state security is a matter for all the people. It is impossible to discount the militarist danger inherent in the nature of imperialism, in its striving to undermine the foundations of socialism in our country. This dictates the need to constantly display high political vigilance, to promptly detect and resolutely cut short any hostile intrigues aimed against the USSR.

Quite a few specific proposals and critical remarks were made during the discussion, aimed at restructuring and improving service work.

### Correction to Speech by Lithuania's Songayla

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Lithuanian Chief Songayla," published in the 5 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement, pages 70-72:

Page 71, column two, first paragraph, last sentence: "...of offices of released primary party organization..." (substituting "released" for "dismissed.")

### Correction to Delegate's 'Censorship' Speech

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Delegate Wants 'Abolishment of Censorship,'" published in the 1 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement, pages 89-91:

Page 89, column two, after sourceline, make read: "[By writer Daniil Granin: "Trust Breeds Responsibility"]

"[Text] As a delegate..." (identifying author)

## Political & Social

### Yerevan Strikes Bring City to 'Standstill'

#### Report From Armenian MVD

*PM0607111988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "No Aircraft Took Off"]

[Text] Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport was closed to incoming and outgoing aircraft yesterday morning. Hundreds of passengers were unable to make use of Aeroflot's services. TRUD's correspondent telephoned the Armenian SSR MVD Political Department. This is what he was told:

"A number of enterprises in the city went on strike the day before. The participants in the strike again demanded a solution to the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. They also suggested that workers from Zvartnots Airport join them. The latter refused.

"A group of young people made their way to Zvartnots in the morning. Having penetrated its perimeter, they paralyzed the airport's operations. Internal affairs organs had to intervene to restore order. According to our estimates, normal life will be resumed at the airport very soon."

Many speakers at a rally held in the republic capital's Theater Square condemned these actions which inconvenienced thousands of citizens—passengers were due to fly into Yerevan or from Yerevan to other cities in the country on that day on long journeys that had to be made: Some were taking a child to a hospital in the capital for surgery, others were hurrying to pay their last respects to a relative, yet others were on urgent business travel.... The participants in the rally demanded that the airport be secured against interference by hooligan elements.

We also got in touch with the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation Central Traffic Control Service. Senior Traffic Controller V. Savrasov reported as follows:

"No aircraft took off from Moscow to Yerevan throughout the day. Virtually all passengers surrendered their tickets at the ticket offices. Two trains were urgently formed for them. Thus anyone who wished to do so could make his way to Yerevan by rail. Aircraft will resume flights as soon as operations are back to normal at Zvartnots Airport."

### Yerevan in 'Uproar'; 2 Dead

*LD0607144788 Hamburg DPA in German 1356 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—During the storming of Yerevan airport by Soviet security forces today, 40-50 people were injured according to official information. Human rights circles in Moscow, on the other hand, spoke of up to 150 injured and 2 dead. [passage omitted]

The spokesman for the Armenian Foreign Ministry said that nothing of the kind has happened in 5 months of unrest. Sadness and deep shock reign in the city. People now have other concerns than striking. Previously, the official of the Armenian Foreign Ministry, Vartanyan, said in answer to a question that the factories in Yerevan are only "partially" on strike. However, there are no demonstrations in the city.

In Moscow, human rights activist Sergey Grigoryants believes that the unrest was prepared and provoked. According to reports from Yerevan in his possession, which are to be published in Moscow, 2 people have been killed and 150 injured. The authorities have even tried to convince the parents of one of those killed to say that it was suicide. The city is in uproar. Airborne troops and troops of the internal security have been drafted in. The citizens are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the troops.

Grigoryants reported further clashes between demonstrators and security troops drafted in. Thus, the soldiers had proceeded brutally against a crowd which had assembled in the early hours of this morning in front of hospital No 6 in order to learn the number of injured. On the Theater Square early this morning a sit-down protest was also ended by violence. [passage omitted]

On the question of whether the Armenians had perhaps taken to the streets out of disappointment that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference had practically not dealt with the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the spokesman for the Armenian Foreign Ministry said that the unrest had nothing to do with the party conference.

### Perfilyev on Airport Casualties

*LD0607174788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] At a briefing in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center, Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, answered a question about the latest events in the capital of Armenia. He announced that on 5 July, over 400 people gathered in the building of Yerevan Airport, and a further 1,500 outside it. They obstructed the work of ticket offices, went out on to the runway, and hindered the work of airport staff.

Subunits of internal troops attempted to persuade those who had gathered to leave the building, and, after repeated warnings, forced them out of the airport premises. It was a question of forcing them out [vytesneniye], not of clashes and fights.

After that, the disorders continued, as a result of which there are injured people.

All this occurred, Comrade Perfilyev stressed, in conditions in which the overwhelming majority of airport staff had not refused to work.

### Television Reports Strikes

*LD0607191988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There has been a fresh exacerbation of the situation in Yerevan. [video shows pictures of crowd of protesters massed in Theater Square. The crowd are shown raising their arms. A protest banner is shown in close-up]

For the umpteenth time, Theater Square in the Armenian capital has become the arena for events. Many thousand-strong meetings have been taking place under the slogan of a general strike.

While emotions were running at their highest and in response to calls by irresponsible persons, a large group of those at the meeting—about 3,000 persons—headed off to Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. They blocked the work of the booking offices, emerged on to the runways, hampered the issuing of baggage and the sale of tickets, closed off access to the airport for passengers, and paralyzed the work of the traffic control service. [video shows two black-and-white still photos of crowds of protesters at airport and inside terminal, then cut to S.F. Fadeyev, head of the Political Section of the Armenian Directorate of Civil Aviation, identified from screen caption]

[Begin Fadeyev recording] We have indeed been through 2 difficult days. Over 60 flights and more than 14,000 passengers have not been dispatched from Zvartnots Airport. This has definitely done great economic damage to the Armenian Directorate of Civil Aviation and to Aeroflot as a whole. [end recording]

Units of internal troops, using amplifying systems, attempted for an hour to persuade those assembled to leave the building, and after three warnings forced them from the premises of the airport. However, the disturbances continued. In particular, those assembled attempted to hurl bottles and stones at the representatives of the Internal Forces. This resulted in casualties. Thirty-six persons needed medical assistance. This all took place under conditions where the overwhelming majority of airport workers were not declining to work.

The strike was supported by only one detachment out of fifteen. [video shows small group of internal troops mingling with civilians and then aircraft lined up on the tarmac]

Hundreds of thousands of people came out on to the streets today. All ground transport, including taxis, has been halted, and the overwhelming majority of enterprises and many establishments are not functioning. [video shows streets lined with crowds of waving demonstrators as cars carrying protesters pass by; some uniformed men present at roadside]

## PRAVDA on 'Tense' Situation

*PM0707084788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6*

["Stop Press" report by A. Sarkisyan: "Yerevan, 6 July"]

[Text] What happened on the evening of 5 July at "Zvartnots" Airport is hard to explain. Negotiations were conducted with the demonstrators packing the airport complex in an effort to persuade them that their unlawful actions were hindering operations at the important facility and that the vast majority of the airport collective did not approve of the idea of a strike.

But the demonstrators were adamant that only by extreme measures could they convey their demands "to the top." The airport was effectively closed for 2 days. Representatives of the internal forces tried to force the crowd out of the airport buildings. But they met with a hail of bottles and rocks. The republic's Internal Affairs Ministry reported: Several dozen people required medical assistance, both people who were blockading the airport and law-enforcement personnel.

The situation was tense in Yerevan this morning. The entrance to Theater Square was closed, public transport was not operating, and enterprises were practically at a standstill. Continuous production processes are in operation.

At the "Luys" Association, I met with workers in the glass shop. The people did not hide their feelings.

"No," operator L. Piltakyan said, "we do not approve of the actions of those who tried to close the airport. We believe that these actions damage the prestige of our people and of the republic as a whole. The people are in favor of tackling the issue by democratic methods alone."

"Of course we do not endorse illegal actions by violators of law and order," A. Ayrapetyan, section foreman and shop party organization secretary, said. "They have nothing to do with the people's demands for a just solution of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. We have chosen our way of solving it and will stick to it."

## IZVESTIYA Report

*PM0607153588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Undated dispatches from Yerevan by own correspondent S. Bablumyan and from Baku by own correspondent R. Talyshinskiy under the general heading "The Situation Remains Complex"]

[Text] Yerevan [subhead]

This morning Yerevan could be described as a working city only by greatly stretching the point. But even those who wanted to go to work did not have the opportunity: City transport was at a standstill. I called many party raykoms and contacted the leaders of industrial enterprises to ask: How are things? I got various answers, but in principle most of the assessments boiled down to saying that the situation is worse today than yesterday.

And how were things yesterday? According to verified data, in the republic as a whole 26 enterprises and organizations were not working 5 July, with Yerevan accounting for 6 of them. The worsted and silk combines, hydraulic apparatus plant, perpendicular lathe plant, and some others were operating with an incomplete workforce. The pertinent question put by readers—what are these same raykoms doing?—has to be given a disturbing answer: Many of them have unfortunately proved incapable of handling the situation. The bitter truth is that leadership personnel of all ranks have proved to include too few recognized leaders possessing the ability to engage in a dialogue with the people in which they not only find the right words but also get listened to.

But let us return to today's chronicle of events. Access to Yerevan's Theater Square is closed.

The authorities have even had to resort to assistance from the military. At 1000 hours Moscow time Zvartnots airport was still idle. The ARMENPRESS agency has reported what happened there yesterday. Let me cite a few lines since I was unable to get to Zvartnots—the traffic jams proved simply impassable. I quote. "On 4 and 5 July this year groups of people who had been participating in rallies in the city of Yerevan, responding to calls from irresponsible people, blockaded Zvartnots Airport and the roads leading to it. The violators of public order demanded that the airport collective stop work. Receiving a refusal, they entered restricted areas [sluzhebnyye pomeshcheniya] of the terminal building, paralyzed its operation, and placed flight safety in jeopardy. ...Numerous attempts to persuade the violators to stop their unlawful actions were not successful. The situation which arose necessitated intervention by the forces for the protection of public order...."

Unfortunately both some violators of order and several policemen were hurt [postradali] in the clashes which ensued.

Before sending this item to the editorial office I met with Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Nazaryan, head of the Department of State Law in the Law Faculty at Yerevan University. We talked about the difficult times currently being experienced by Armenia and, of course, about the strike. He said:

"In our conditions striking is not only an unacceptable device meriting condemnation. Not only will it not help, not only will it not expedite a just solution to the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], it will only have a negative impact on matters. The most complex questions can and must be resolved, of course, but for this it is necessary to proceed from the premise that they must be resolved exclusively within the framework of true democracy, in an atmosphere of restraint and calm. It is necessary to proceed from the premise that democracy is based precisely on the rule of law, and the rule of law is precisely the nutrient medium, the oxygen without which democracy will wither. It is precisely in conditions of lawlessness and arbitrary action that bureaucratism flourishes. There can be no real people's power outside the rule of law.

"Let me now be more specific," V. Nazaryan continued. "We must always remember that we live in a socialist country, that the republic's economy is a component part of the unified national economic complex of the USSR. So any strike anywhere in the country hits the interests and pockets of completely innocent people. The result is that willy nilly you cause pain to other people, to your brothers. To people who are sympathetic toward our people, share their concern, and are in solidarity with the view that the NKAO problem must be solved in line with justice, from the positions of Leninist nationalities policy principles. Can we allow our friends in Belorussia or Latvia, say, to suffer because of our strike? No, we have no right to allow such a thing."

I believe that many of my fellow Armenians [zemlyaki] will agree with V. Nazaryan's view. And to the credit of my interlocutor I must note that he has already repeatedly spoken out boldly and frankly on this question without fear of being accused of "spinelessness."

...I called Zvartnots again. At that moment—the clock showed 1230 local time—an airliner bound for Vilnius was taxi-ing out onto the runway. Behind it an aircraft was preparing to take off for Moscow....

Baku [subhead]

Haymaking is in progress and grain crop harvesting is continuing on NKAO kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

At the same time industrial enterprises, the construction industry, transport, and consumer services are at a standstill in the NKAO oblast center, Stepanakert. The stores are shut, with the exception of food stores.

According to information from the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Statistics, the shortfall in production recorded by the oblast's enterprises as a result of the strike is already in excess of R41.5 million. Allied enterprises in other regions of the country have failed to receive supplies to the value of almost R20 million from the oblast's enterprises. NKAO enterprises have already lost over R4 million in profit during the stoppage.

There have been no rallies or marches in Stepanakert for several days, but tension persists in the city.

In Baku and other regions of the republic all enterprises and institutions, transport, and trade are operating and agricultural work is in progress.

"Nevertheless, the situation in the republic as a whole remains complex," Azerbaijani Minister of Internal Affairs A. Mamedov said. "A total of over 18,000 Azerbaijanis who have left the Armenian SSR recently have now been placed in various rayons. But there have been no rallies or demonstrations recently."

### More on Casualty Reports

*LD0707112188 Hamburg DPA in German 1048 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—In the unrest in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, one member of the Soviet police evidently killed a demonstrator with a shot in the head. This information from civil rights circles was confirmed to DPA today in response to an inquiry by a representative of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS by telephone.

However, the man had not been shot during the clashes at the airport but on the way there. The spokesman declined to give any background details. It is possible that the demonstrator had not behaved "loyally". Investigations have been started.

The editorial office of the unofficial Moscow publication GLASNOST speaks of three people having been killed in the clashes at Yerevan airport on Tuesday. Two of the alleged victims were Chatschik Sakarjan, age 22, and a man named Chatschik Geworkjan [names as received]. The details of the third victim are not yet known. [passage omitted]

According to civil rights circles, black mourning ribbons are flying throughout Yerevan. It was reported that the victims would be buried at noon Friday. [passage omitted]

### Ministry Denies Casualties

*NC0707061788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper allocates space to the following announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR:

Certain individuals in Yerevan are spreading rumors that there allegedly were human casualties during the restoration of public order at Zvartnots Airport. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR announces that there were no victims at the airport. An incident took place on 5 July on Echmiadzin Highway as a result of which Yerevan citizen (Lakaryan) was seriously injured and died on arrival at the hospital. Criminal proceedings have been instituted and the case is being investigated.

### Workers' Poisoning Investigated

*LD0607224688 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[Text] Recently, there was a case of poisoning involving 51 workers at the sewing shop of the Masis town branch of the Garun Garment Association. Four of the workers did not need treatment. A total of 47 workers were hospitalized, all of whom are now out of danger.

The prosecutor's office of the Armenian Republic initiated criminal proceedings in connection with the poisoning incident. A joint commission of the USSR Ministry of Health and the Armenian Ministry of Health has been operating in Masis since 24 June to discover the causes of the poisoning. On 1 July, the commission signed its concluding report.

Candidate of Medical Sciences Aksenov, chief of administration at the USSR Ministry of Health, had this to say about the commission's conclusions: The members of the commission carried out minutely detailed studies into the condition of the stricken patients. We have yet to find substantive reasons to explain the causes of the poisoning. It has been proven that it does not originate from food. The water supply, the production environment, and infections have been ruled out. In the view of the commission, the poisonous substance entered the organism through the respiratory tract, causing the sudden and simultaneous onset of illness.

Our correspondent visited the central rayon hospital at Masis Rayon center. The Margaryan mother and daughter are two patients in one room. They were among the first to be brought to the hospital, suffering from exactly the same symptoms as the rest of the cases: dizziness, signs of irritation of the respiratory tract, watering eyes, vomiting, general lassitude, and pains in the abdominal area.

It was disclosed today that all those who have been hit by poisoning have been allocated passes for recuperation in sanatoriums and health resorts by arrangements made by the rayon party committee. These women workers of Garun branch will recuperate in some of the best health resorts in the country once they are discharged from the hospital.

### Azerbaijan, Armenian Leaders Brief Press 1 Jul

*NC0707075188 Baku International Service in Azeri 1200 GMT 1 Jul 88*

[Text] Dear listeners: The members of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Communist Party delegations to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference held a news conference at the press center of the all-union conference yesterday. We now draw your attention to our special correspondent's report on the meeting.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the journalists showed great interest in the news conference. Obviously, it gave them the opportunity to be briefed directly by the exalted leaders of the two republics on their [word indistinct] regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Let us say a few words about the essence of the problem.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast People's Deputies Soviet held an extraordinary meeting during which it adopted a decision to ask the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet to allow the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. Meanwhile, a meeting that was held by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to allow the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to the Armenian SSR. However, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet described this appeal as baseless and unrealistic.

Many journalists have disclosed that their interest in this matter is not only due to the difference of views between the two republics, but also due to the opportunity which has arisen for the first time for open debate on this very serious and complex problem of the multinational country.

Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, briefed the participants of the news conference on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and its capital, Stepanakert. Tatliyev described the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Stepanakert as generally tense. Not all of the industrial establishments are operating. The representatives of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, and other social and state establishments in the republic are in Nagorno-Karabakh explaining the position of the republic's leadership and briefing the residents of the autonomous oblast on the plans that have been drawn up for the oblast's development.

Suleyman Tatliyev said the following: We have to carry out a lot of work in order to calm down the Armenian people of the autonomous oblast. We are constantly in touch with the republic and party leadership of the Armenian SSR.

Tatliyev described the demand by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast People's Deputies Soviet to move out of the Azerbaijan SSR's framework as baseless and unrealistic. He pointed out that 475,000 Armenians live in the Azerbaijan SSR at the present time, of which

only 120,000 live in Nagorno-Karabakh. Tatliyev also noted that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh is a complex problem [words indistinct].

The other members of the Azerbaijan SSR delegation, who addressed the news conference, expressed the view that strengthening Nagorno-Karabakh's economy, consolidating self-administration, and meeting the social and cultural demands of the people of the autonomous oblast will contribute toward the settlement of the problem.

The members of the Armenian delegation viewed the matter from a different angle. However, Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, informed the journalists immediately after the news conference began that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is not one which reflects Armenian hatred toward the people of Azerbaijan SSR. He said the following:

We have lived with the people of Azerbaijan on the same land and under the same sky for many centuries. We have no claims against them. We held the same front with the Azerbaijani and other Soviet peoples during the war for the homeland. We know well that the leaders of the Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR, and Nagorno-Karabakh are expected to [words indistinct] for the settlement of the problem. The matter must be resolved in a way which will comply with the interests of our peoples and those of the other peoples of the Soviet Union. This is due to the fact that we are members of the united family of peoples in the Soviet Union.

You may ask how the Nagorno-Karabakh problem can be resolved? [Words indistinct]. Under the circumstances, the following measures can be taken to resolve the poblem: The autonomous oblast can be placed under the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet temporarily or [words indistinct].

When the news conference ended, Suleyman Tatliyev told journalists: Had the causes of this problem been tackled by the leaders of the two republics, the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviets, and the leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and had they openly debated all the [word indistinct] and even the most serious matters as Communists, the problem (?would not have continued).

Tatliyev also noted that the Azerbaijan SSR leadership is convinced tht the problem cannot be resolved by excluding the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR'S framework. He said that considering the national interests of all the peoples of Nagorno-Karabakh more fully is the only way to settle the dispute.

**Rehabilitation of Zinovyev, Kamenev Examined**

*PM2206095788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by Yuriy Feofanov: "Returning to the Truth"—boldface as published]

[Text] I have just returned from the USSR Supreme Court Plenum morning session. On 13 June, it quashed the verdicts passed on Zinovyev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Radek, and their comrades who were condemned in 1936 and 1937.

Journalists, eager not to miss this event, have long been calling each other: "Is it going to happen? When? No? Why?" They were discussing whether there would be a rehabilitation of Zinovyev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, and Radek—these names designate the show trials of enemies of the people which still remained in the shadows. After all, Bukharin, Rykov, and their comrades were rehabilitated back in February.

I would not go as far as to say that "the people demanded" an answer to this question, but I can boldly claim that "the public was interested." And it was no idle interest. After all, we too are living in troubled times: When the proposed course of the restoration of truth is interrupted, when something comes to a standstill, it is natural for doubts to arise: Will truth really be restored? Is not another Nina Andreyeva looming on the horizon?

But now the act has happened. The verdicts passed in these cases have been quashed. Truly sensational cases of that time: Everything is recorded in the public press. Recorded in glaring, harsh, and terrifying tones. In 1934, Stalin could have said of himself, in the words of Boris Godunov: I have reached supreme power, absolute power whereby I "can do anything" and "anything" will unquestioningly meet with approval—unanimous, universal, and without a hint of doubt. The press shows the monstrous phenomenon which was becoming part of life in those days, a phenomenon that was a strange combination of fear and enthusiasm, of organized hero-worship and voluntary self-denial.

Even before that, approval or condemnation had been voiced on matters about which speakers at meetings and authors of newspaper articles had only the vaguest idea. That is, if they had one at all. But nonetheless, it was after 1934 that an epidemic broke out in society which could be described as the "mob syndrome." The mob, as is well known, lives according to the laws of perverted dialectics: It is uncontrollable, yet at the same time, it can easily be channeled by a single shout of "Get him!" While having no convictions, it nonetheless acts on a single impulse; it can unite a hundred people for an instant, and break up a moment later, but it can also grow boundlessly and last for years....

In order to turn society into a mob, a very strong blow was needed to stun it, to knock it out. This blow came—on 1 December 1934, Kirov was assassinated.

Who assassinated him? By 20 December the investigation had already established that it had been a certain Leonid Nikolayev acting on the instructions of a terrorist underground organization, the "Leningrad Center." "This anti-Soviet clique was an isolated group which had

lost all hope of gaining the support of the masses...," the indictment said. Fourteen people were committed to trial, and all were shot that very December.

But who had really assassinated him? Clearly, the sentence passed in the Nikolayev case did not provide the required answer. And in January 1935, another trial was already under way. A trial not of some unknown Nikolayev, but of yesterday's leaders, prominent revolutionaries—Zinovyev, Kamenev, and others. And then another trial of Kamenev, his brother, and some others, which became known as the "Kremlin Case." This was just an "experiment," a trial balloon to test public opinion to find out whether an indictment without proof, a sentence without evidence, would pass muster. True, the Industrial Party had already been convicted, and the Shakhty engineers trial had taken place. But they involved people who were little known in the country. What was happening now was a different matter....

The statement of indictment stated cautiously: "The investigation failed to establish facts to justify a direct charge against the members of the 'Moscow Center' of having sanctioned or issued any instructions for the organization of the terrorist act against Comrade Kirov." There were no facts, but the indictment of 19 people was signed by A. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy prosecutor, and L. Sheynin, investigator for major cases at the USSR Prosecutor's Office. It was approved by USSR Prosecutor I. Akulov. The sentence was passed by an assize session of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court composed of V. Ulrikh, I. Matulevich, and A. Goryachev. The high court too "failed to establish facts"; however, it deemed it sufficient that the accused "knew about the terrorist inclinations of the 'Leningrad Group' and had themselves inflamed these inclinations." For which it passed a sentence of 10 years on Zinovyev, 5 years on Kamenev, and sentences within that range on the others. In legal terms not very convincing... but the "experiment" had worked.

Nonetheless, the semisecret trial with a verdict based not on fact but on vague allegations was obviously unsatisfactory. Although, naturally, it had met with universal approval. Clearly, what was needed was a stunning spectacle with a firework display. And in August 1936, the first of the notorious "Moscow trials" burst on the scene. They were open, public trials held in the House of Unions, in a hall filled to capacity, and attended by representatives of the foreign press. All the outward forms of legal procedure were followed. The people in the dock—the selfsame Kamenev, Zinovyev, and 14 others—gave evidence in public, the interrogation was conducted by Vyshinskiy, the polite form of address was used. This was the "United Trotskiyist Center" Case. They were all shot. The sentence was signed by V. Ulrikh, I. Matulevich, and I. Nikitchenko.

There is no need to describe the course of the trial itself. It was identical with that which followed it in 1937, which in turn was referred to as the Case of the "Parallel Anti-Soviet Center" of Pyatakov and Radek, and the last show trial in 1938 of Bukharin, Rykov, and their comrades. The press has carried fairly full details about the last trial, including quotations and appraisals. Therefore, describing the other trials would simply be repetitive. They were exactly the same, except that at the first trial, there were no accusations of espionage yet. They had not stooped that low yet. But they came quite close since they had the unconditional backing of public opinion for virtually any action: Anything that came from above was unanimously approved.

On 15 August 1936, IZVESTIYA carried a brief report in the top right corner of page two under the rubric "At the USSR's Prosecutor's Office." It stated merely that Kamenev, Zinovyev, and others were being committed for trial. Immediately "the anger of the working people" exploded in all the newspapers. There were calls like: "No mercy to the enemies!" "Annihilate the vermin!" and so forth. Rallies of workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, and cultural figures passed resolutions; party aktiv meetings and general meetings were held; individual prominent citizens signed personal and collective letters expressing devotion to Comrade Stalin. The accused have not yet testified, no sentence has been passed, but the "masses" are already seething with malicious enthusiasm. Society has turned into a mob. What about the sincerity of all these resolutions clamoring for death? I don't know, I cannot judge it. But is not any mob sincere in its wild passion?

This whole campaign took place at a time when the country was discussing the draft constitution which already bore Stalin's name. The radio was ceaselessly claiming that there was no other country in the world "where people breathe so freely." An article appeared in IZVESTIYA under the title "The Inviolability of the Person": Lawyers and prosecutors "must first investigate and only then arrest," "sooner or later the question of admitting the defense during the preliminary investigation must be raised," and even a "habeas corpus" act was mentioned—the document which had established the presumption of innocence many centuries before. People read the article. Nonetheless, at the same time, they clamored: "Annihilate the vermin!" Though the trial had not even opened yet.

Dual morality was implanted crudely, persistently, and on a large scale. Few people thought about the rule of law. In people's minds, the law had merged with the actions of "organs," which were always right.

But here is a paradox. On the 3d day of the trial, IZVESTIYA published the following message:

"From Paris. To the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Despite the fact that the defendants, Zinovyev and his comrades, have always been sworn enemies of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, we feel obliged to appeal that they be granted all judicial guarantees, that

they be allowed to have defense attorneys totally independent of the Government, that a death sentence not be passed on them, and that, in any case, no procedure precluding the possibility of an appeal be used. De Bruycker, chairman of the Socialist International. Citrine, president of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

Naive people! They could not imagine what was going on. And, naturally, they immediately received a worthy rebuff. "Pillory the defenders of the Trotskiyist-Zinovyevite assassins!"—this was the title of the rebuff. This publication might have had a sobering effect. But does a mob ever listen to the "voice of reason"? Furthermore, in speaking about guarantees, defense attorneys, and appeals, those naive people in Paris simply did not know that the requisite preparatory work had already been carried out "in the sphere of law" by 1 December 1934.

I think it would be interesting to take a closer look at this now.

On 10 July that year, the OGPU [Unified State Political Directorate] was reorganized as the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs], under which an extrajudicial organ—the Special Conference—was set up. Its membership included the USSR prosecutor. So here you had the "sword of the law" and its "supervision" under one roof. On the day of Kirov's assassination, 1 December 1934, the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution "On the Procedure in Conducting Cases Relating to the Preparation or Perpetration of Acts of Terrorism." On the very same day! What was this? The height of efficiency? Elaborating a legal document within such a short spell of time? Or a special talent to anticipate events? However that may be, it is a fact that the document appeared and that it established a hitherto unprecedented "procedure." A period of investigation of 10 days or less; presentation of the charge 1 day before the trial; exclusion from the trial of the "sides"—the prosecutor and the defense counsel; abolition of the right of appeal and even petition for mercy; immediate execution by firing squad. (In 1937, the same procedure was introduced for cases of wrecking and sabotage. However, even these simplifications proved insufficient. At Kaganovich's proposal, extrajudicial examination of cases with the application of the supreme penalty was introduced, while Molotov, in view of the great number of cases, proposed that people be "tried" and shot on the basis of lists.)

Naturally, at the same time, "public opinion" was also being prepared. First, the opposition was "ideologically crushed" and its main figures were dismissed from their posts and expelled from the party. Then they repented and were treated with magnanimity. In 1933, Zinovyev and Kamenev were even reinstated in the party.

After all that, the farce of the show trials was to demonstrate objectivity and fairness to the whole world. The defendants were "able" to testify before the whole world. The organizers of the trials started paying attention to "procedural questions." During the trial of Zinovyev and Kamenev, they simply resolutely rebuffed the "uninvited defenders." However, in the statement for the prosecution at the Pyatakov-Radek trial, Vyshinskiy devoted a whole section to "procedural questions." He tried to prove in every way that the investigation had followed a correct course and that the judicial authorities had observed all the rules of law. Prior to that, Vyshinskiy had assured himself of supporting testimony for this part of the statement from the defendants themselves.

Here is the stenographic record of the interrogation of Norkin (he admitted to everything):

V.: Maybe you were pressured? What were conditions like in general, what were the conditions like in your cell?

N.: Very good. Are you asking me about external pressure?

V.: Yes.

N.: There was no pressure.

V.: It is possible to deprive people of decent food. Deprive them of sleep. We know this from the history of capitalist prisons. It is possible to deprive them of cigarettes.

N.: There was nothing like that.... I realized the hopelessness of the struggle and the need to expose this whole matter.

You will find it hard to find examples of such unanimity and cooperation between a prosecutor and a defendant in the history of jurisprudence. And so, for the umpteenth time, the question arises: Why, at an open trial, did they admit to arrant nonsense? (True, I.N. Smirnov who featured in the first trial, refused to confess, and Bukharin denied espionage). A rumor persists that the trials were spectacles at which the defendants were replaced by stand-ins. I even heard a story claiming that during the trial "Bukharin's beard came unstuck." This rumor has its attractions since it provides an easy explanation for everything. But let us ask ourselves: Would Stalin have used stand-ins?

A great deal has now been written about this man, about his bloody deeds and about the system which he created, about the "Stalin phenomenon," and about the "Stalin riddle." He has been analyzed down to the smallest detail, both his deeds and his personality. Judging by everything that we know now, it is hard to imagine that he would have agreed to a spectacle with stand-ins. What he needed was an official triumph, the humiliation of former opponents up to and including their moral

destruction, what he needed was revenge and the spectacle of his victims writhing in the fire of his revenge. It seems to me that any other explanation would be illogical. Merely killing them would not have been enough. He was to come to that later, when he started killing indiscriminately, on a mass scale. A repressive mechanism was to come into play, operating according to the program of its creator without his direct participation. Could he have known the thousands upon thousands of his victims?

But these first ones he knew personally. They were opponents whom he had defeated in debate. And, naturally, also in the struggle for power. So, how could he deprive himself of his moment of triumph?

The twenties, after the retirement and death of Lenin, were naturally filled with struggle for influence and power in the upper echelons of the party and the state. At first it was Zinovyev, Kamenev, and Stalin against Trotskiy; then Stalin and Bukharin against Trotskiy, Zinovyev, and Kamenev; and finally Stalin against his loyal ally Bukharin. All you have to do is to read the stenographic records of the congresses, and it all becomes crystal clear. Officially, they were not arguing about personal power. They were discussing the possibility of building socialism in one country, ways of doing this, the prospects of world revolution, the NEP, the meaning of Leninism, and so on and so forth. It is historians' task to establish who and to what extent was interested in these questions as such. But it is not difficult to perceive that each of Stalin's rivals was defending his own concept with the aim of gaining the leadership. Stalin was prepared to adopt any program to win absolute power. Having defeated the creator of the theory of "cogs" and "turning the screw," he calmly converted his theory into his own practice.

He remembered everything and was unable to forgive anything. On becoming leader, he was unlikely to have forgotten Kamenev's words at the 14th party congress:

"We are opposed to the creation of a theory of a 'leader' [vozhd]; we are opposed to the creation of a 'leader.' We are opposed to the Secretariat, by combining in practice policymaking and organization, standing above the political organ. We favor an internal organization of our leadership such that there is a truly sovereign Politburo... I have arrived at the conviction that Comrade Stalin cannot fulfill the role of uniter of the Bolshevist headquarters."

Such remarks, incidentally, were nothing unusual at that time. People were not afraid to speak out, it was the rule. It would have been considered odd had they hung on their leaders' words and tried to guess what they wanted to hear. Lenin was an impassioned polemicist. We know this from his speeches, rejoinders, and notes. They testify to Lenin's tolerance of other people's views. He utterly condemned factional struggle, but he respected even his enemies' arguments. When we quote Lenin, we do it often out of context, ignoring the situation in which his remarks were made, we forget the fervor of the polemic, the heat of the debate. You can find remarks like "he should be shot," or "the bureaucrat should be put behind bars," and so forth made by Lenin. However, it would be blasphemous to claim that Lenin favored extrajudicial reprisals. What he said in the heat of discussion was not intended for draft laws, not even for newspaper editorials. And his companions-in-arms, his opponents and adversaries, were equally outspoken. They engaged in fierce arguments without thinking about future appraisals of their words, intent only on the matter in hand. Let us recall the "Brest conflict," the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the nationalities question, and much else.

And no one, not even in their worst nightmares, could have imagined that the results of the discussions about ways of building the party, the state, and socialism would be summed up at trials with no right to defense, with no right to the truth. And this does not apply only to the defendants. It was society itself which had been deprived of this right and thus—as I ventured to claim earlier—turned into a mob which fell prey to enthusiasms without thought, without feeling, ecstatic only in its adulation of the deity. And how many more such hyped-up campaigns were yet to come!

Alas, people who were worthy in every respect succumbed to the ecstasy. Tomorrow's victims added fuel to the flames. Let me cite just one episode from 1936.

On 21 August, the penultimate day of the trial, Karl Radek wrote a long article "The Trotskiyist-Zinovyevite Fascist Gang and its Ringleader Trotskiy." It contains the following passage: "The case is being examined in the presence of hundreds of people and dozens of foreign correspondents, and no one in their right mind will believe that the defendants are slandering themselves...." What must the author have felt the next day when he read a statement by Vyshinskiy in the same newspaper that orders had been issued to open an investigation of Tomskiy, Rykov, Bukharin, Radek, and Pyatakov? And what must he have felt a year later, slandering himself in exactly the same manner? And listening to Vyshinskiy quote from his articles branding the "enemies of the people"?

A terrifying time—filled with dreams about a bright future and unanimous approvals of bloody reprisals.

It was in this atmosphere that "justice was done." We are now returning to these times, trying to understand and reassess them. However, I believe that we are doing it very inconsistently, convulsively, as it were, still not wanting to look the truth squarely in the face. The whole truth! For instance, Bukharin, Rykov, Tukhachevskiy, Vavilov, and many others were rehabilitated in the eyes of society long before the official action took place. Today everyone knows that Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin was Lenin's friend, the darling of the party, and its greatest theoretician. Rykov, who was sentenced

together with him, Pyatakov, the main defendant at the second "Moscow trial" and dozens of other major figures in general evoke no doubts. Their rehabilitation—judging by my own experiences, at least—has been received as a restoration of the honor and name of "pure victims" of Stalin's terror.

And what about Zinovyev and Kamenev, who were the first to be condemned at the trials in 1935 and 1936? Who were they? They were oppositionists. This is actually true. They put forward their own special views on key problems of the development of the revolution. The view was and still is that after Lenin's death they opposed the "general line," that they departed from Leninism and sided with Trotskiyism, that they opposed the "Leninist Central Committee." The majority denounced their factional struggle, thus preordaining and sanctioning, as it were, the charging of them, now judicially, with unthinkable crimes. It is a long time since anyone believed that they were terrorists and that they assassinated Kirov. However, in my opinion, people still doubt that they were honest revolutionaries devoted to the cause of socialism, thinking that they were enemies of the party and the state. People believe that they were not guilty of everything that they were accused of, but that they were nonetheless guilty "in general."

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. Matveyets, in a letter dated 30 April 1988 and published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in response to an earlier article, reproaches the author with the naivety of a prewar schoolchild: "A doctor of sciences **ought to know** (my emphasis—Yu.F.), that the Trotskiyists and Zinovyevites were a counterrevolutionary opposition which... embarked on antiparty and anti-Soviet actions..."

What kind of anti-Soviet, antistate actions? There were none, nor could there have been any. Why is the struggle against Stalin's line interpreted as a struggle against the party? What does its antiparty nature consist of? A candidate of sciences **ought to know** that he cannot make accusations without furnishing proof. Incidentally, Vyshinskiy in 1936 did not have any proof either. An opinion that differed from the official line, expressed openly in the past, served to seal people's fate in the conditions of intolerance during Stalin's absolute rule. Expressing a dissenting opinion means that you are a heretic, means that you are fit to burn at the stake. But why rekindle the fire that has gone out now?

A candidate of philosophical sciences is entitled to express any well-founded opinion about the stance of Lenin's associates. What I object to is the formulation "ought to know"...

But, strictly speaking, what is known about the oppositionists?

I would like to acquaint readers with the main characters who featured in the first of the "Moscow trials," those about whom the doubts have not yet been dispelled, those about whom people still speak as highly suspect persons.

Grigoriy Yevseyevich Zinovyev and Lev Borisovich Kamenev had embarked on the path of revolutionary struggle early on and were with Lenin to this death. I will omit their prerevolutionary biographies. They are irreproachable. I will recall only one generally known fact: On the eve of October, they warned in the open press about the risk involved in an uprising. Lenin angrily denounced them for this action, even using the word "strikebreakers." But what conclusion did he draw from this? Facts provide the best answer to this question.

Elected a member of the party Central Committee Politburo in October 1917, Zinovyev remained a member after the victory. In November he departed for the Ukraine to organize the struggle against the Rada. Then he headed the Petrograd Soviet. In January 1918, he became head of the Committee for the Revolutionary Defense of Petrograd and in February, chairman of the Petrograd Labor Commune Council of People's Commissars. During the Brest conflict, he was firmly on Lenin's side. Later he organized the defense of Petrograd against Yudenich and was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 7th Army. In 1919 Zinovyev became chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International which was his main job for the next 10 years. At the 12th and 13th party congresses, he delivered the political reports of the Central Committee.

L.B. Kamenev was a member of the party's Central Committee and one of the editors of PRAVDA before October. It was Kamenev who opened the Second Congress of the Soviets, which proclaimed soviet power, and he became the first chairman of the RSFSR Central Executive Committee. Since he was included in the delegation to the Brest negotiations, he handed over this post to Sverdlov. In 1918 he became chairman of the Moscow City Soviet; in 1919, special agent of the Defense Council on the civil war fronts; in 1922, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; and after Lenin's death, chairman of the Labor and Defense Council. The supplementary volume to the Granat Encyclopaedic Dictionary—a publication which can probably still be regarded as objective—states: "During his illness V.I. handed to K. his personal archive, which subsequently grew and developed into the V.I. Lenin Institute, where K. works as director."

These trials of half a century ago, and—most important—everything that surrounded them, are highly topical today. We, too, are learning democracy and mastering the rules of political discussion at a time of intensive struggle. Our predecessors, the people of the twenties, failed to master the situation, and their reward was the thirties. They themselves went up in the flames of repression. They professed intolerance of the opinions of

opponents and gave birth to terror—physical and moral terror. The suppression of those who were in the minority resulted in one person crushing the majority. And the absence of the very concept of a right to personal opinion created the wild "mob syndrome" which used the name of the people to sanctify tyranny.

In short, the discussion about ways of building socialism was put on ice for a long time. It has been resumed now, more than half a century later, where it left off—about the ways of developing the revolution, the role of the party, the place of the "leader" [vozhd]. And about the tragic figures to whom, half a century on, the state which they created and "let go" is returning their honor and their name.

The Supreme Court, naturally, did not examine the "party image" of the rehabilitated citizens; it did not rule whether they were right or wrong in the old debates. But it stated clearly that before the law, before the state, and before the people, they were not guilty.

We have only just resumed the discussion about the ways of building socialism. Therefore, everything that happened then is so topical now. After all, the discussion has only just started....

## Yakovlev Discusses Stalinist Legal Trends

*PM0407153488 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 28 Jun 88 p 21*

[CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev article: "We Reject the Stalinist 'Heritage'"]

[Text] In the USSR, a process is being carried out to rehabilitate the people who fell victim to injustices and abuses in the thirties. Because of its social implications, this process far transcends the purely legal sphere. The most important aspect are the conclusions that the Soviets must draw from past experiences. The "lesson of truth" imparted by the 27th CPSU Congress entails the solution of problems that have been pending since earlier periods of history, as well as those currently facing society: making democratization irreversible, strengthening legality, promoting openness, and eradicating bureaucratism.

There is a problem that worries many people: How were the serious breaches of legality back in the distant thirties possible? To form an idea of the situation in which this was possible it is essential to analyze two main lines of the repressions of that period. The first is the passing of punitive sentences on innocent people who never violated the laws of the time. The other is the trial of people who committed crimes envisaged by the Penal Code approved in the thirties. The code stipulated such severe punishments that instead of protecting the people's interests, it was in fact directed against the people.

Bourgeois Liberalism [subhead]

The first line of repression affected thousands of party veterans, officials of state bodies and party members of all ranks, famous scientists and cultural figures, military chiefs and economic officials. In my opinion this kind of repression actually stemmed from the fact that in the thirties, differences of political opinion became criminal. In that period the tendency to dogmatize the opinion of a single person—Stalin—gained strength. Those who disagreed were labeled reactionaries and proclaimed enemies of socialism.

This system needed its own ideologists and theoreticians. One of the most prominent figures was Andrey Vyshinskiy, who in the second half of the thirties occupied the post of state attorney of the USSR. Vyshinskiy "argued" the postulate that a court is unable to establish the objective truth insofar as it cannot use practice as a criterion of truth: The crime cannot be reproduced. If so, it is unnecessary to seek the truth; it is enough that the prosecution establish "the likelihood of guilt" of a person on the basis of subjective criteria.

In my opinion this idea emerged particularly clearly in the law "On Punishments for Terrorist Activity" dated 1 December 1934, drafted with Vyshinskiy's help. The law ignored all the legal experience accumulated by mankind since the time of Roman law, even against the most fearsome enemies. Moreover it does not embody even the most basic rules of justice: The accused is not entitled to a defense and the only sentence envisaged is the death penalty by firing squad, to be executed immediately and without the opportunity to appeal. I consider this law the apotheosis of Stalinism.

Why was penal law made harsher in that period? First, this phenomenon was due to the attempts to resolve economic problems by non-economic methods of coercion. In the Soviet economy in the late twenties, the "order and command" system began to displace the "New Economic Policy" outlined by Lenin, which was based on the objective laws of supply and demand, on the application of the law of value within socialism, and on the combination of the principles of planning with market elements. This process was accompanied by a drastic increase in the list of punishable activities, which was not without a certain logic, since the working collectives' loss of economic and organizational autonomy entailed the weakening of economic incentives in the production sphere.

These incentives were replaced by non-economic coercive methods in the form of penal sanctions. Under this penal system, enterprise managers were punished for mismanagement, kolkhoz presidents for nonfulfillment of contractual obligations, peasants for the failure to accumulate the established number of working days, workers for arriving late at work, and so forth. People who committed really punishable crimes, such as theft, were given extremely severe sentences.

Take the example of the law to protect state enterprises, kolkhozes, and cooperatives and strengthen social property, promulgated on 7 August 1932. The law established the following rule: "For the theft (robbery) of goods belonging to kolkhozes and cooperatives, capital punishment will be applicable—execution by firing squad—together with the confiscation of all property. In the case of attenuating circumstances, the capital sentence will be commuted to a minimum of 10 years' imprisonment, with the confiscation of all property."

Here is an example of how the law was applied: Anna Dolgova, 18, who worked as a cleaner at a bakery, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for "having consumed too much bread at her place of work." Together with her, four other workers were also given the same sentence for having stolen a single loaf each.

Juridical Law [subhead]

These draconian laws were abolished after Stalin's death. In the period of stagnation in the seventies, however, there were recurrences within Soviet society of the policy that engendered them, albeit without repression on a large scale. I believe we have now learned the most important lesson of the previous period. What legal lessons stem from this?

The main one is that we now give priority to the concept of juridical law as the form of existence of socialist democracy. This law alone can guarantee the exercise of the individual's rights, respect for the citizens' dignity, and the equality of all before the law. Democratic law has nothing to do with the wishes of the state; it is an expression of the people's genuine wishes and places the activities of all bodies of state power and leadership under legal control.

The basic principle of our jurisprudence is the concept of presumption of innocence: Every individual is presumed innocent unless his guilt is legally established and proven by the court. The defendant does not have to prove his innocence.

We are trying to enhance the courts' prestige within society, to strengthen their democratic character, to make them really independent, and to ensure that they obey obey the law. Judicial bodies must defend the rights and interests of citizens, labor collectives, self-management bodies, and public organizations. We are sure that this way it will be possible to achieve the ideal of the socialist legal state.

## Youth Paper Publishes Position on Reforms

PM2806140588 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 June 1988 carries on pages 2 and 3 two articles spelling out the paper's stance on respectively rejecting the legacy of past abuses and supporting various reforms. The first, a photo feature entitled "Our Stance?", shows young people clapping at the 19th Komsomol Congress, held in 1982, and reads:

"Along with delegates and readers who have written in our newspaper we renounce the following legacy:

"The ousting of democratic centralism by bureaucratic centralism
"The effective powerlessness of soviets
"The appointment of deputies under the guise of elections
"The issuing of commands to independent public organizations
"Excessive administration in regard to the party and the Komsomol
"Nomenklatura as a principle of cadre policy
"Quota-based party recruitment
"Eulogizing of top leaders
"Disregard of public opinion
"'Half-hearted' glasnost
"Secrecy of party life
"Unlawful privileges for officials
"Violation of constitutional freedoms
"Lack of social protection for young people
"Dogmatism in the social sciences
"Gaps in history
"Lack of rights for enterprises vis-a-vis ministries and departments"

The second photofeature, entitled "Our Stance" and carried on page 3, shows a photograph of a crowd of banner-waving demonstrators and reads in full as follows:

"In support of the CPSU Central Committee Theses our readers propose:

"Fully restoring the power of the soviets.

"Carrying out a reform of the electoral system. Nominating deputies solely on a competive basis, with prior publication of the candidates' programs. According the right to nominate candidates not only to organizations but to groups of citizens.

"Barring executive apparatus personnel from being soviet deputies. Candidates to stand as deputies only where they live and work.

"Setting up Komsomol groups in soviets.

"Instituting the practice whereby law-enforcement organs, the USSR MVD, and the USSR KGB make regular reports at soviet sessions.

"Drafting and adopting a Law on the Press after extensive discussion.

"Ensuring citizens' right of access to economic, environmental, and other information.

"Carrying out a reform of the press: A newspaper is the organ of a party or Komsomol organization, not of its committees.

"Publishing reports on the financial activity of the party, the Komsomol, and public organizations and foundations.

"Making the work of all party organs and soviets more open.

"Drafting a nationalities code. Creating a State Committee for Nations' Affairs.

"Equalizing the rights of party members and nonparty people.

"Discussion must be the norm of public life.

"Creating the material and legal conditions for the exercise of constitutional freedoms.

"Reexamining the rights and political role of independent public organizations. Drafting and adopting after extensive discussion a Law on Voluntary Societies.

"Ensuring that the Komsomol is genuinely independent in nature.

"Discussing the principles of social policy regarding youth. Drafting a 'Youth' Program.

"Reexamining views on the structure of the youth movement. The Komsomol cannot and must not be the sole youth organization.

"Creating a public organization called the "People's Front in Support of Restructuring."

"Taking account of public opinion as an essential element when tackling all major domestic policy and foreign policy questions.

"Setting up an extensive network of institutes to study public opinion.

"Making legislative provision for the carrying out of nationwide and regional referendums.

"Forming ministries at congresses of labor collective councils.

"Sharply reducing all management apparatuses.

"Limiting the time leading party and state posts can be occupied to two terms, without exception.

"Carrying out a judicial inquiry into the activity of Stalin.

"Setting up a monument to the victims of the repressions of the thirties through the fifties."

## OGONEK's Korotich Discusses Reforms

*AU2906163088 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 25 Jun 88 p 3*

[Interview with OGONEK Chief Editor Vitaliy Korotich by VOLKSSTIMME editor Erich Feichtinger: "Before the CPSU All-Union Conference; We Do Not Want To Live Only for the Future"; date and place not given—first paragraph is VOLKSSTIMME introduction]

[Text] Vitaliy Korotich, chief editor of the magazine OGONEK, is one of the most controversial persona in the Soviet Union. With his magazine, he pursues such a hard glasnost course that the shock leaves many people breathless. Our editor Erich Feichtinger has asked him how he has been able to become a delegate to the 19th party conference and what he personally thinks of the restructuring in his country.

[Feichtinger] Your election as a delegate to the party conference has not been without complications. Can you comment on this?

[Korotich] Yes, you are right, my election to the party conference has not been smooth.

So what?

My election as a delegate to the 27th party congress, for example, went off smoothly. I was called up and told that I should go to the regional party conference in one of the Ukrainian regions. I went there. I was elected. I believe this is far worse than the present "complications."

[Feichtinger] What were the arguments for and against you?

[Korotich] There were no arguments against my election. When the issue was discussed in the Moscow Sverdlov District, where I am registered as a party member, it was decided there that, in a municipal district in which there is so much intelligentsia, it would be safer and less dangerous to elect the actor Solomin of the Maly Theater as a delegate to the party conference. And this is what they did. I have nothing against Solomin personally. Therefore, I do not consider his election as an argument against me.

Two Currents Have Met [subhead]

[Feichtinger] How were the delegates to the party conference nominated in general?

[Korotich] The elections have shown that we have only set out for democracy. You see, two currents have met. The first, that is the appointment of the delegates to which our bureaucrats are used, and the second, that is democratic elections. These currents have met and clashed and thus created a real whirl. Therefore, different delegates will participate in the work of the party conference—elected and appointed ones.

Obviously we will still have to study real democracy for a long time.

Nevertheless, I am pleased that now, literally on the eve of the party conference, consternated delegates are calling me up and telling me that they do not know who will speak and in which order. Only 3 or 5 years ago everything would have been predetermined: All stand in line, the prepared speeches lie on the benches.

Now such an unusual democratic path has to be taken. The request for permission to speak has to be put into a box and you must wait until you are given permission to speak. In my opinion, there is something to it...

[Feichtinger] How do you want to represent the ideas, wishes, and expectations of those who have nominated you?

[Korotich] I want to comment on two basic questions which are, in my opinion, central issues. The first, which moves me very much, is the question of guarantees for restructuring. We need legislative guarantees. This concerns the definition of how long somebody is permitted to occupy a leading position, this concerns elections with several candidates, this concerns the differentiation between functions in the party and the Soviet organs.

Secondly, I want to become a little ironical. That is, regarding the apocalyptic outlook of our "domestic" bureaucracy. I believe that it is precisely the bureaucrats who do not care anything about Soviet power. Therefore, the prohibition of Boris Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" on the assumption that this "intelligentsia" novel could destroy the foundations of Soviet power, was only possible because of a complete disbelief in its power bases as was the creation of a so-called "Emigration Commission" that was supposed to talk with the people before they traveled to a foreign country. This is only possible if one regards everyone who travels to a foreign country as a traitor. I believe that it is time to tell the bureaucrats who do not respect Soviet power that we believe in this power. They think that it will be destroyed by democracy, but we believe that it will be strengthened by it. Therefore, let us deal with it. Then we will see who will carry the day.

[Feichtinger] If you were to evaluate the state of restructuring in your country, what would it be like? In which sectors has there already been much done and where are there still problems?

[Korotich] Much has already happened regarding transparency [transparenz]. This concerns above all the control system. The positive economic results are still not sufficient. The main problems and difficulties lie in the reorganization of the economy. The people have to work better, earn more, have the possibility to better use what they have earned. This is a long-term process. But today we have started to fully voice our problems. And the fact that we no longer fear anybody is, in my opinion, because of restructuring, which is of international importance.

[Feichtinger] Regarding your work: Could you briefly describe your career?

[Korotich] I was born in 1936. From 1959 until 1965 I worked as a physician. In this period, my first books were published. In 1965 I was elected secretary of the USSR Union of Writers. At that time more than 40 of my books were published and translated into 15 languages. I received two state awards, as well as the prize of the International Journalists Association. But in the past 2 years I was able to convince myself that journalistic work can be far more interesting. We have always lived for the future. My parents placed their hopes in my happiness but even more in the happiness of my children. This is all very well but we should start to build at last a bright present. Therefore, OGONEK (the "LITTLE FLAME") and the other magazines that support restructuring are publishing articles addressed to the public. It is useless to fight only for the future because without the present there is no future. One has to tell the truth, regardless how bitter it sometimes may be.

Exact Destination [subhead]

[Feichtinger] You have transformed the easy-going tugboat OGONEK into a battleship of reorganization. How have you achieved this?

[Korotich] When I joined OGONEK, I was surprised at the exceedingly interesting conversations of the journalists in the corridors. But then they parted, everybody went to his room, and they produced the most boring newspaper in the country. I said to them: Dear fellows, let us do the following: You will never again submit materials to be signed by me which you would not also talk about at home and which make you neither happy nor sad. Since that time, I have always asked them, when they bring me material, for whom is it written? If they succeed in convincing me that this material is in demand, we print it. If the material, so to say, has no destination, then it is unnecessary, notwithstanding how much I regret it.

A battleship, a cruiser, even a boat, are only good if they have an exact destination, if there is an objective, and if they have something to defend. If there is nothing of that sort, then it is only a life boat drifting in the ocean, in the hope that it will someday be discovered by somebody.

[Feichtinger] Can one be certain that the journalistic broadsides always reach their target and always achieve the desired result? Or must one also consider that the journalist sometimes supports the opposite side in haste, in the heat of battle?

[Korotich] Journalistic broadsides do not always produce anything like the desired result. They are like the broadsides of any artillery: Sometimes they hit the target, sometimes they miss it. Old soldiers say that you can be calm if you have heard the crack of the bullet. For then it is not your bullet. It has missed you. And I believe that journalistic artillery has to fire in such a way that the opponents of restructuring do not hear the crack of the bullet. They have to be bombarded in such a way that they do not dare stir.

[Feichtinger] You are a controversial person. Do you also have neighbors who no longer greet you?

[Korotich] Such neighbors do not exist. They all greet me. The people are disciplined in our country.

But something else. I take care not to turn my back on anybody.

You know, in California [the Old West] the judges did not hold court when a person was killed by a shot "in the front of his body"—in the face or the chest. If you had seen that somebody was aiming at you, then you yourself are to blame, you should have shot first; that is to say, according to the principle of not standing in an exposed place. But when somebody was killed by a shot in the neck or back, they tried to track the murderer. Therefore, I try not to be exposed anywhere. This is very important to me, but I especially fear those people who greet me but actually do not want to greet me.

## Philosopher Discusses 'Spiritual Stagnation'

*PM2706135288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Zh. Toshchenko article: "Spiritual Stagnation, or the Mechanism of Deformation of the Mass Consciousness"]

[Text] We have talked about many things over the last 3 years. We have analyzed domestic and foreign affairs, uncovered mistakes and failures, assessed the period of stagnation, and named many of the factors that led to socialism's loss of its human qualities and attractive force, which constituted and still constitute its creative nature and strength in both theory and practice. But there is a sphere of our life—the spiritual sphere—where it is perhaps more necessary than in any other sphere to examine the truth of our knowledge and convictions, the causes of the devaluation of spiritual values, and the complexities and contradictions of social consciousness.

The Theses for the 19th party conference say that the problems of democratization of spiritual life and its renewal are a subject of special concern. The Theses also say that much still remains to be done to enable socialist pluralism of opinions to play a constructive role while at the same time eliminating all the restraining factors.

I will begin my study of the problems of spiritual life today with a personal reminiscence.

It is 1956. A student lecture hall on Mokhovaya Street. Late evening.

"We don't believe it!"

The tense, leaden silence is broken by indignant voices, shouts, and the knocking of little wooden boxes, the precursors of today's briefcases. Several people simultaneously jump onto the rostrum. But the majority are silent, paralyzed by the reading of the letter from the 20th party congress on Stalin's personality cult. For many it is a tragedy, the loss of clear guidelines, the total destruction of everything that we held sacred in our hearts.

I am profoundly convinced that spiritual losses are the worst of all. You can go hungry and cold, you can be on the brink of death (which, incidentally, was a common enough fate, not only for those who fought), but you cannot live without an ideal, without faith. History has testified repeatedly that you can undergo terrible economic losses and suffer destitution and ruin, but if spiritual values are preserved, the people will certainly revive and their spirit will be reborn like the phoenix from the ashes. Therefore, experienced enemies have always tried to strike the most telling blow against whatever is the holy of holies—against the people's spiritual culture, to break their national self-awareness and distort the objective logic of society's development.

Today, in the era of restructuring, a contradiction that is hard to explain has suddenly emerged. While positive developments in the economy and politics are as yet not great, nevertheless, the causes of stagnation have been clearly defined: the obsolete economic mechanism, the emphasis on gross output, the lack of true democracy, the remoteness of the majority of the people from real participation in managing the affairs of the country and of production. In the social sphere, too, the main cause has been revealed—the violation of socialist justice or disregard for it.

As for our spiritual life, here more than anywhere else we have moved far ahead: The "spiritual explosion" has led to profound changes in literature, cinema, the mass media. At the same time, it is here that we are still far from uncovering in full the main factors that led to the stagnation of culture, education, science—everything that forms the people's intellectual potential.

I may be accused of prejudice or bias: After all, not everything, in fact, was all bad in our culture. Is not this a slander? But I am not talking about individual achievements (which cannot be denied), but about the dominant trend. It is necessary to study the origins of the spiritual breakdown that afflicted our culture, and at the same time to answer the questions: Why, despite the exceptions, did mediocrity and impoverishment prevail? Why

were talents formed with such difficulty, and why was it so agonizingly hard for the truth to forge a path for itself? Why were many representatives of science, literature, and art excommunicated from socialism, while spiritual life was subjected to standardization and uniformity? Were they all "dissidents," anti-Sovietists, and so forth? And what about the failures in public education, laggardness in science, surrender to mass culture? Most important, why did Soviet society's spiritual life lose the miraculous strength by which, despite colossal difficulties, the people lived immediately after the revolution, in the twenties?

Bitter as it may be, the main factor that deformed our spiritual life was the manipulation of social consciousness. And I mean manipulation, not errors and delusions, which can be understood and explained. It was a deliberate, planned policy that consistently, harshly channeled society's spiritual development along a predetermined path. Outwardly, it all looked right and proper. There was an objective: to make the Soviet person's spiritual world unique, rich, diverse. The problem was not this noble intention—the problem was that this objective was pursued without reckoning with the real situation and the objective requirements of social development. Everything was oriented toward an impoverished and primitive perception of the surrounding realities, an ideal formulated beforehand, satisfying limited tastes and needs.

People's ideas, views, and opinions were seriously deformed and basically amounted to an unnatural compromise between official directives and what a person thought and pondered on himself or with his friends and family. In these conditions, "double bookkeeping" flourished luxuriantly: Officially, a man represented one thing; in his personal life, quite another thing.

The manipulation of the social consciousness took on an enormous scale. There was open speculation on people's brightest ideals and aspirations, whereby what should be done was easily replaced by what must be done, and what must be done by short-term, misconceived public interest, or more often group or personal interest. The manipulation mainly took the form of the constant, obsessive striving to prove that we are the best, the most advanced, the most progressive. "Scientific" evidence was also cited: Socialism cannot be a bad system. Imperceptibly, little by little, socialism as a reality was replaced by theoretical, ideal socialism.

Such qualities as openness, sincerity, and truthfulness were consistently expunged from spiritual life. The position "do not be, but seem" was encouraged, opening up the way for people who were careerists by inclination, insincere and ready to flout everything sacred and dear to the normal person. The ability to adapt, to assent in good time, and to gratify the tastes of your superior and the willingness to abandon one's own convictions gave rise to a comparatively powerful, influential stratum of spiritual mentors who were guided not by the people's interests but by selfish considerations. We see them to this day: Yesterday they asserted one thing, today another; and they are ready to master a third tomorrow if it proves convenient. This moral corrosion was supported and justified (often with the help of the loftiest words and from the standpoint of the most important state interests), and became normal behavior.

The basic principles of the spiritual collaboration between party and people were also gradually distorted. First, something indisputable was asserted: The theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the only true theory, should be brought to people's awareness. Then the theory imperceptibly became identified with current party and state decisions, which became dogmas not susceptible to doubt. And since the exponents of these decisions were specific individuals, they alone became the autocratic "supporters" and "defenders" of Marxism, and without a shade of embarrassment constantly asserted the infallibility of their views.

Yet the theory of Marxism-Leninism has always been the concentrated expression of the people's interests, and it should change and improve under the influence of the people's interests, rather than the people adapting themselves to comply with specific dogmas. Let us consider Lenin's warning: "Millions of people will never listen to advice from parties, unless that advice coincides with what their own experience of life teaches them."

Despite these divergences between theory and real life, everything possible was done to close people's eyes to this contradiction, while access to true information was restricted to a minimum, and what did not suit the theorists was declared nonexistent. Thus a capacity for mimicry was developed, and distrust of official statements and decisions grew, along with the outward show of complete agreement with them. A firm conviction developed: It is dangerous to speak the truth; it is better to support what they want you to support. So the right words were uttered by people who often had no intention of following those words in reality. Bright ideals were proclaimed, but the problems of the present day were represented as trivial and insignificant. Propaganda created the image of a society that was exceptional in its role and position. Thus a mythologized consciousness was cultivated, in which, with the help of propaganda, the mass media, and scientific calculations, bureaucratic centralization was passed off as democracy, failures as achievements, and people digging ditches as the conquerors of the skies. It was demonstrated that there could be no alternative to what was enshrined in official documents. Any difference of opinion was punished on one pretext or another.

Irremediable damage was done to the social consciousness by the policy of "bragging," whose many ramifications make it hard to describe. Let us mention just a few of its manifestations: for instance, the principle of living from one campaign to the next. As soon as one ended,

the next began, and the one after was already in preparation; there was no counting them. And if you have a campaign, if you have a jubilee, that means you have to seek achievements, even where they do not exist. At the same time, "let the shortcomings wait a while," "let us not write about them," the "date" will soon pass, and then perhaps we can come back "to individual omissions."

These constant loud booms were intermingled with smaller-scale drumbeats over various dates: the completion of construction, modernization, an invented record—greetings and congratulations were sent, and bonuses and awards handed out. The ideology not of "how to do it," but of "how to present it" penetrated deeply into people's consciousness and mentality.

Even that most precious thing, the moral potential of the victory in the Great Patriotic War, was left wanting. The violation of all measure in the remembrance of that event, an event sacred to the people, led to the alienation of a proportion of young people from an understanding of the people's feat, and the inability to make good use of this asset led to a decline in interest in what should be our pride.

The manipulation of consciousness was manifested in the parasitic attitude to difficulties. In the tackling of many production tasks, people's enthusiasm was frankly exploited.

But the greatest absurdity lay in the methods of tackling urgent problems. Thousands of villages and hamlets were closing down and emptying, yet people were persuaded of the successes of agriculture. Essential goods disappeared from the store counters, yet at the same time, the blather continued about the growth in the consumption of meat, milk, and eggs. It became increasingly difficult to tackle the housing problem, but people were lulled with the numbers of square meters commissioned. When no evidence was available, references were made to temporary difficulties, vestiges of the past, and the influence of bourgeois ideology.

The manipulation of the social consciousness was also manifested in the silence about negative processes (parasitism, drug addiction, drunkenness, prostitution) and in the one-sided evaluation of contradictory phenomena in the development of national and religious self-awareness. Ignoring different viewpoints is also a sign of manipulation, because the absence of complete, reliable, and necessary information did not allow social consciousness to increase in maturity or its assessments to become more balanced.

Social science also played a part in manipulating social consciousness. In the main, the scientists commented on decisions that had already been adopted, demonstrating their correctness and wisdom until such time as those decisons were revoked or modified. After the adoption of new decisions, their "scientific" basis and historic significance was demonstrated with equal enthusiasm and determination. Science's role as apologist became so widespread that even the rare attempts to break new ground came under attack and were labeled revisionism.

The development of social consciousness was influenced in the most negative way by isolation from world culture. What matters is not quantitative descriptions (so many books by foreign authors published, so many exhibitions, movies, and so forth), but the fact that the tyranny that prevailed in cultural policy denied Soviet people access to the full flower of the creative cultural quest. How many times we have witnessed this metamorphosis: At first a particular phenomenon in world culture is rejected and criticized, then there is a period of silence, and then there is recognition, with total repudiation of what was formerly asserted. And did this only apply to world culture?

A one-sided view of the spiritual world was constantly and vigorously imposed. The tastes and preferences of certain people were passed off as truly Marxist, while everything that did not coincide with these ideas was immediately repudiated. So it is hardly surprising that it was during these times of stagnation that intolerable methods of polemics developed: The truth was sought not at conferences and symposiums, in scientific debates, but in letters to party and other organs demanding the exercise of authority against people of different views.

The standardization of spiritual values turned into homogeneity and uniformity. There was no room here to remember that tenet of Marxism that every person is beautiful by virtue of his uniqueness, his individual originality, his dissimilarity and lack of resemblance to the people around him. One-sidedness and primitivism were carried over into the ideological polemic, where quarrels, not debates, prevailed, which, of course, could not fail to promote the spread of dogmatism and the restriction of our vision, which led in turn to a decline in the prestige of Soviet social thought.

A particularly pernicious influence was exerted on social consciousness by the absence of real social protection for the individual. The tyranny of officialdom reached its apogee when in their dealings with departments and institutions of various kinds people felt beforehand a sense of their own inferiority and even guilt. Arrant bureaucracy flouted and belittled human dignity, demonstrating at every moment its own omnipotence and the individual's impotence in combating it. This multifaceted, petty humiliation of human dignity suppressed in the individual the quality of the fighter, the champion of truth and justice. Those individuals who had the courage to wage the struggle were not infrequently persecuted—from the involvement of legal institutions to the mobilization of the "collective opinion." As a result, ideological and political values and ideals began to lose their regulating role, a cynical attitude to labor became

widespread, and the attractive force and influence of example were reduced. Ideas about friendship and love were distorted. Thus the general moral health came under serious threat.

Thus the socialist social consciousness was subjected to moral corrosion and was eroded under the influence of not only external but also internal factors. And the process of deformation was growing not weaker but stronger, taking more and more new forms.

A sociological analysis of economic, political, and moral consciousness carried out by the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy and covering some 45,000 people in all sectors of the national economy and all the main regions of the country showed that the main obstacle in the path of the formation of a socialist social consciousness is the need to overcome the gulf in our spiritual life between words and deeds, between what we (state and public organizations, economic leaders, and the working people themselves) say and what we do. Despite truly gigantic efforts, progress in this direction has not been all that significant.

In analyzing the contradictions in social consciousness, it should be noted that restructuring has not only stimulated positive processes. The emancipation of spiritual life not only uncovered constructive forces, but also engendered serious defects like demagoguery and parasitism that feeds on the complexities of our development. The consciousness of demagogues clearly identifies social priorities and sentiments, which are used as cover for the implementation of their selfish interests. This has emerged particularly in the activity of the "inverters" of restructuring, who use the opportunities that have become available not to promote the real development of democracy, but for personal advantage and publicity, to bring themselves to the forefront of social interest.

At the same time, I would like to mention another feature of social consciousness, namely intolerance. The lack of the skill of polemics and the habits of respect and tolerance leads to serious defects in the formation of the democratic principles of public life. It could be claimed that it is this trait that hampers the formation of socialist pluralism of opinions, in which the single goal does not preclude, but on the contrary, presupposes different means and methods of achieving it.

By shaking off the burden of the concerns of petty tutelage over production life and sharing out its spheres of influence with the soviets, the party will be able to concentrate on its main, essential task—ideology. But not the office-bound, theoretical kind of ideology that is divorced from life, but on the contrary, an ideology closely linked with life and revitalized by glasnost and democracy. Only in this event will the party be able, according to Lenin's idea, to express what the people are conscious of. Only thus can social consciousness work out the correct path for its development.

## Public Opinion Poll on 'Revival of Soviets'

*PM2806151188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Unattributed "Response": "What the Soviets Should Be Like"]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the 19th party conference, problems of restructuring the soviets' activity are being discussed particularly actively in the country. And this has been reflected in IZVESTIYA's pages: It has carried newspaper observer Yu. Feofanov's conversations with Professor B. Kurashvili—"The Soviets: A Return to Themselves" (No 47)—and with Pushkino Gorispolkom Chairman V. Chicheurov—"What Local Power Should Be Like" (No 80)—Yu. Burtin's article "Freedom of Choice" (No 120), and a number of other materials. A sociological study of the problems touched on in these articles has been conducted by specialists of the Public Opinion Study Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute (V. Davydzhenkov, Ye. Andryushchenko, V. Rodionov, V. Afanasyev, T. Divakova, Ye. Zakaraya, V. Vostrukhin, Ye. Korshunova, M. Gasanaliyev) in cities and villages of Moscow, Ivanovo, Omsk, Lvov, Volyn, Nikolayev, Tashkent, Samarkand, Fergana, and North Kazakhstan Oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, and the Buryat ASSR. In all, 1,927 people were polled—deputies, ispolkom officials, party officials, economic leaders, and ordinary voters. [passage omitted]

The poll participants have a unified view of the ultimate goal of the transformations—the revival of soviets exercising full power. Different ways of achieving it are indicated. Many people (45 percent) consider turning the soviets into permanently functioning organs of power and the creation of conditions for work on the parliamentary model an important guarantee of their effectiveness. Such a reform finds the majority of its supporters (56 percent) among ispolkom leaders. However, a considerable group (32 percent) is opposed to the introduction of parliamentary forms of the soviets' work. [passage omitted]

More than 90 percent of those polled are convinced that restructuring must affect not only the soviets' activity but also the electoral system; just 6 percent are fully satisfied with the existing election procedure. A considerable group of poll participants (43 percent) considers the granting of a real opportunity for various public and self-motivating organizations to nominate their own candidate deputies the chief area of the democratization of the electoral system. However, many people advocate the consistent implementation of the "production" principle—48 percent declared that both the nomination of candidates and elections must take place only in labor collectives.

The poll conducted by the sociological group has very clearly shown that the majority of those who voiced an opinion consider the enhancement of the soviets' role, a

change in the deputies' status, and the reform of the electoral system a very important, obligatory condition for the success of restructuring.

### Government Leaders Write on Soviets' Powers

*PM2906133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*14 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "What Can a Soviet Do?"]

[Text] Restructuring affects all spheres of our life. Its success is impossible without reviving the power of the soviets as Lenin understood these words.

Purposeful work began after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum on increasing the role and authority of local organs of power. In particular, this was assisted by the 25 July 1986 CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Enhance the Role and Increase the Responsibility of Soviets for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions." How is it being fulfilled? What new rights do the organs of power now have and how are they supposed to use them in a specific situation? This is discussed in the book "What Can the Soviet Do? Seven Conversations with Leaders of Departments," which has just been published by the IZVESTIYA publishing house.

The questions are answered by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab; N.V. Garetovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board; L.A. Kostin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; and A.L. Mukoyed, collegium member and chief of a USSR Gosplan department.

The book is pegged to the 19th all-union party conference. It includes an appendix containing the main departmental acts adopted in amplification of the CPSU Central Commtitee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

### AUCCTU Presidium on Employment Questions

*PM2806145988 Moscow TRUD in Russian*
*26 Jun 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the AUCCTU Presidium"]

[Text] At its latest session the AUCCTU Presidium considered questions concerning the work of trade union organizations to ensure effective employment of the population, improve the job placement system, and reinforce the working people's social guarantees.

The session noted the great political and socioeconomic significance of this work and the importance of stepping up efforts in this sphere in connection with the improvement of the structure of the economic management organs at all levels, the introduction of full economic accountability, the installation of new equipment, and production techniques, and the implementation of other organizational measures ensuing from the economic reform that is under way in the country. Reports were delivered by AUCCTU legal department and consultation center chiefs V.V. Kleptsov and L.V. Rybakov. Speeches and accounts were given by V.T. Sedenko, chairman of the Petroleum and Gas Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee; I.A. Shinkevich, chairman of the Railway Transport and Transport Construction Workers Trade Union Central Committee; Yu.Yu. Abramov, secretary of the Local Industry and Municipal Services Workers Trade Union Central Committee; V.A. Sologub, chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Trade Union Council; E. Zhakselekov, chairman of the Kazakh Republic Trade Union Council; Kh. Alimova, chairman of the Uzbek Republic Trade Union Council; M.A. Orlov, chairman of the Moscow oblast trade union council; V.N. Makeyev, AUCCTU secretary; M.B. Ryzhikov, AUCCTU secretary and chairman of the Agroindustrial Complex Workers Trade Union Central Committee; and I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and member of the AUCCTU Presidium. All the contributions contained in-depth, critical analysis of the activities of trade union councils and committees in ensuring strict compliance with labor legislation in releasing workers and employees, and generalization of the results of trade union organs' participation over the past 18 months in the placement of around 1.5 million workers and employees in jobs.

In was noted that the cutbacks in the management apparatus and excessive workforce at many of the inspected enterprises and organizations are taking place in an organized fashion, after a comprehensive investigation of the question and personal discussions of the candidates to be made redundant in labor collectives and at trade union committee sessions. The work relating to redundancies and job placement of the working people is being carried out in cooperation with local labor affairs organs. Trade union council and committee labor affairs inspectorates and legal advice offices and posts are providing legal aid to enterprise and organization workers and trade union committees.

At the same time, the session noted serious shortcomings in the work of a whole series of trade union and economic organs in ensuring effective employment of the population and providing social guarantees for working people. At some trade union councils and committees there is evidence of a formalistic and indifferent attitude to working people's oral and written appeals concerning dismissal, retraining, and job placement. Sharp criticism was leveled at the session at a number of trade union central committees and councils for serious omissions in the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR

Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution of 22 December 1987 "On Ensuring Effective Employment of the Population, Improving the Job Placement System, and Reinforcing the Working People's Social Guarantees."

The closing speech on the question under discussion was delivered by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev. The resolution which was adopted by the AUCCTU Presidium will be published in TRUD.

Other questions relating to trade union activities and their international work were discussed at the AUCCTU Presidium session.

## Government Resolution on Closing Kirghiz VUZ

*PM2806162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on serious shortcomings in the activity of the Przhevalsk Teacher Training Institute. The resolution notes that, in the process of evaluating the performance of the Przhevalsk Teacher Training Institute, the USSR State Committee for Public Education discovered that the state of affairs in all sectors of this VUZ's activity was unsatisfactory. The institute's professorial and tutorial staff fails to provide the minimum standards required of teacher training. The overwhelming majority of the VUZ's graduates lack the necessary knowledge and are not prepared to engage in independent teaching work. Teaching and methodological work in the institute is not geared to the actual level of students' knowledge. The tutorial staff has distanced itself from the preparation of study literature and methodological material. Virtually none of the necessary transformations, dictated by the demands of school reform and the restructuring of higher education, have been implemented.

Stagnation phenomena in the VUZ's teacher training and scientific activity have provided a breeding ground for the development of negative trends. Hometown favoritism, cliquishness, and nepotism have put down roots in the institute, and this has created conditions favoring mutual protection, protectionism, and breaches of state discipline, including also in the admission of students. Serious shortcomings have come to light in the ideological and internationalist education of students. An adverse moral and psychological climate prevails in the institute's labor collective, and this is not in line with the tasks of training and educating teacher cadres. The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and the USSR State Committee for Public Education do not exercise strict demands and proper monitoring of the institute's activity.

The USSR Council of Ministers accepted the proposal by the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, and the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers to close down the Przhevalsk Teacher Training Institute for having failed to ensure the training of teachers in line with contemporary demands. The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers was ordered to assist in finding jobs for workers who will be released as a result of the closing down of the institute in question, and in the rational relocation of this VUZ'S student contingent.

With a view to most fully satisfying the needs of public education in the republic for highly skilled specialists, acceptance was given to a proposal by the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers to set up in Przhevalsk a branch of the "50-Letiye SSSR" Kirghiz State University to provide daytime schooling. The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers was ordered to ensure in 1988-1991 the creation of a modern material and technical base for the university branch to be set up in the city of Przhevalsk, and the construction of housing for the professorial and tutorial staff to be recruited to work there. It was deemed necessary to implement measures to staff this branch with highly skilled professorial and tutorial cadres, provide it with constant scientific, teaching, and methodological assistance by the country's leading VUZ's, and supply it with modern teaching and laboratory equipment.

The Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers was instructed to eliminate the serious shortcomings in the selection, placement, education, and utilization of professorial and tutorial cadres in the republic VUZ's and to improve the system for their basic and further training. The USSR State Committee for Public Education was instructed to expand the targeted training of scientific and science teacher training cadres for the Kirghiz SSR VUZ's via postgraduate and doctoral studies in the country's leading universities and teacher training institutes.

## Public Display of Heroic Zhukov Portrait Sought

PM2806115188 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 23 June 1988 carries on page 6 under the headline "A Portrait's Fate" a 1,600-word article by Colonel M. Semenov, Retired, honored cultural worker of the RSFSR, about what happened to a monumental (300 cm by 209 cm) portrait of Marshal Zhukov on a white charger rearing above Nazi banners against the background of the Brandenburg Gate.

Semenov begins with a brief description of other works by its painter, Vasiliy Nikolayevich Yakovlev, and the history of the painting in question, and adds:

"The portrait was displayed in the Hall of Columns during the gala concert dedicated to the victory. For several days it was on display in the exhibition hall of the capital's Painters Union, and then disappeared for many years in Soviet Army Museum storage. Some 2 months later the painter made a smaller version of the picture, and this version is part of the Tretyakov Gallery stock. I

was told by the painter's widow that the canvass is in a sorry state and urgently needs restoration. But let us turn back to the original portrait—what happened to it? Why did it disappear from sight?

"What happened to it? First of all, let me issue a reminder that, as readers have already gathered, G.K. Zhukov was hardly involved in the making of the portrait. But Stalin came to know about it. And suddenly there were accusations of 'immodesty,' 'self-glorification,' and so on. While Stalin had been forced to take due account of Georgiy Konstantinovich during the war, after the victory the 'genius generalissimo' could no longer bear at his side a principled person who was not a hypocrite and had won the whole people's love and recognition as an outstanding military leader. To all intents and purposes, the marshal was exiled to Odessa, and later to Sverdlovsk.

"As I have already said, the portrait disappeared in storage and reappeared for a few days in the fall of 1957 in...the Great Kremlin Palace. That was the time when G.K. Zhukov, in his absence, was removed from the post of USSR defense minister and as member of the party Central Committee Presidium. Thus, during the few days while Khrushchev was 'thundering against' Georgiy Konstantinovich for ignoring party political work (by the way, being an old Army political worker, let me say this: As a matter of fact no such thing had happened: Zhukov advocated purposeful, specific, and effective party political work), the portrait reappeared on the stage.

"Here is what I was told about all this by Colonel N. Nemirov, chief of the Soviet Army Museum at the time and now deceased. On the eve of the session he had been ordered to take the portrait to the Kremlin and prepare to display it at a prearranged signal. Khrushchev was chairing the session. Every now and again he would interrupt the speakers, addressing the audience with totally unexpected questions. For example: Should the defense minister be a member of the Central Committee Presidium? Then Khrushchev accused the marshal of attempting to immortalize himself, while at the same time, according to the prearranged scenario, hammering could be heard from the passage. Khrushchev told the audience: 'Do you hear that? Zhukov's portrait is being framed there, and you'll see it during the break.'

"I was at that session together with a group of personnel from the Main Political Directorate where I was serving at the time. My comrades and I were greatly impressed by the portrait. It disappeared again after that."

Semenov writes about the fate that befell Yakovlev and his other paintings, and says:

"I decided to find out the present whereabouts of the portrait. First I thought: It must have been torn up, destroyed. How else could one explain its absence from major exhibitions in the last few years, including the one dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces?"

Having described how he traced the portrait to the USSR Ministry of Culture store in Zagorsk, where it was found, together with a copy, in a neglected state, Semenov concludes:

"I am not sure that the present leaders of the Ministries of Culture and Defense know about the portrait of Marshal Zhukov on horseback; otherwise, they would have found a more fitting place for it, rather than leaving it rolled up in the Zagorsk store. I would like to hope that the result of my article would be to enable us all to see the portrait of the great military commander."

**Book on Gorbachev 2 Jun Meeting Published**

*LD2706220888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An anthology, "A Mighty Factor of World Policy: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's Meeting With Representatives of the International Public on 2 June 1988," has been published. It contains the addresses by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the meeting, and those by 44 representatives of national and international antiwar, women's, trade union, youth, and other organizations and movements. The anthology is published by the Politicheskaya Literatura Publishing House, and printed by the Krasnyy Proletariy Printing Works.